

# The Social Studies

*Continuing*

## THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

VOLUME XXXVII  
JANUARY—DECEMBER, 1946

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# The Social Studies

Volume XXXVII, Number 1

Continuing *The Historical Outlook*

January, 1946

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"The totalitarian mind a generation ago began to spread its poisonous philosophy and unprincipled procedures world-wide. By conquering school systems; by operating through centralized ministries of education; by organizing youth nationally for service to the state; by crushing free institutions; by organizing a massive military machine, and by creating an atmosphere of false security, dictatorship triumphed.

"The sovereignty of the people and the dignity of the individual became abandoned ideals. The state became the fundamental basis for living. Dictatorships do not arise from spontaneous revolution, but from single acts which, when fully organized and nurtured, reduce the individual overnight to a state of intellectual, moral and even physical subservience.

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# The Social Studies

VOLUME XXXVII, NUMBER 1

JANUARY, 1946

## The Liberal and Useful Arts

NORMA HARVESTER  
*New York City*

### I

There is no valid distinction between the liberal and the useful arts. There never has been. Perhaps this point of view is more controversial and less popular than one would prefer. Nevertheless, it affords a challenge and an opportunity for American education. The future of that education is, like its past, unequivocally linked with the institution we know as the college. The American college is the one place where the liberal arts can reveal their efficacy. Whether this can be done depends increasingly upon the view of education that is held everywhere. That this view be thoughtfully conceived, not blandly implied with Laodicean indifference, is important.

Aristotle fixed the terminology of the word "liberal" in its relation to education over two thousand years ago. Liberal means free; it means generous. With the passage of time, the word has assumed other peripheral connotations. It is used to describe a person, custom, course of study, or institution that is in opposition to the reactionary or the extremely conservative. A subsequent analysis of what it means to be educated will, it is hoped, attach significance to the ancient, yet accurate definition.

Art is that which one enthusiastically attempts to do well. Man is an artist with every step he takes, for walking is an art; with every word he utters, for speech is an art; with the skill with which he interprets symbols, for reading is an art; with the charity with which he hears, for "listening is the most generous

art." Certainly eating is an art, never an industry. The average man is capable of being an artist of infinite versatility, for "the liberal arts are but a few of the innumerable arts which anyone possesses or may possess."

There has developed the prevailing assumption that liberal education should be reserved for the few and the well-born; that certain studies are to be toyed with as a luxury, lovely but not necessary; while certain other subjects, the "technical" or "practical" ones possess utility value in the market of life. "Learning to earn," Dewey suggests, "has a pleasant, jingling sound, and the earn part is attractive." If we make the distinction, we must also make the relation. For every person desirous of being an asset to society in an economic sense, there is useful and vocational training. This is "learning to earn." It is multifarious and offers electives. Similarly, for each person in society there is the obligation to meet responsibilities, face problems, attempt solutions, and make decisions. This is learning to be. It is not an elective, it is a requirement. Training in becoming a thoughtful, well-adjusted, wholesome, interested member of society does not come *only* from learning the art of wiring so that one may become a good mechanic; it comes from a knowledge of man—his hopes, his achievements, his failures. It comes from a liberal education.

This is not to say that it is better to be able to discuss the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, than it is to know the proper method of grow-

ing alfalfa in Ohio; or that a course in Periclean Athens is to be preferred to one in the management of a coffee shop. I am not at all certain that I could indicate one in preference to the other. It is however to say, that if vocational training is to travel at the tempo that it is, it must be the right kind of vocational training. It must be technical training with a "humane direction." How this may function, and the extent to which the junior college may participate in its functioning, are the pertinent issues to be considered.

## II

The concept of the junior college originated in the middle of the last century, and became a definitely-articulated formula in American education at the dawn of the present century. The movement has gained considerable momentum since 1900, with the result that at the present time, there are 584 junior colleges in the United States, with a student enrollment of 249,000. More significant is the prognostication by leading educators, of a rapid increase in the number and influence of junior colleges in the postwar period. This emphasis upon the junior college as a leading exponent of American education, justifies in itself a careful consideration of what the junior college shall do. Moreover it is on the college level of instruction that the question of "what shall I study and why" rears its contemplative head. Mark Van Doren well states:

College studies are the permanent studies, the studies suitable to that moment when the mind becomes a "regiment instead of a rabble"; when the useful and poetic arts are seen together in a new light of seriousness, so that now the youth finds poetry to be of practical importance, and science a lever with which to lift the gates of the world; when tradition speaks with its first real authority; when abstraction first delights and speculation becomes a necessity.<sup>1</sup>

A high school teacher who has talked with returning graduates after their first year at college will recognize the validity here. Many a parent has been either terrified or amused at the metaphysical ramblings produced by a collegiate year.

True, "education is of the hand as well as of

the head and heart." The junior college with its variety of functions, technical, preparatory, guidance, and popularizing, is well endowed philosophically to provide such an education. By definition, a junior college is "an institution that may develop curricula to meet the needs of the community, and the needs of the student to make his greatest contribution to society."

No one will deny that both of these are worthy objectives of education, eminently deserving of achievement. They however can be truly achieved only by a vocational education that does not lose sight of the human values of a liberal education. The solution is that the "complete and generous education" is both liberal and vocational. The solution is that a liberal education is a vocational education. It always has been. The solution is that the junior college utilize both pursuits in education. Only to the extent that it does so, will it become the tremendously effective agent in American education that it is capable of becoming. Having offered these concepts it is incumbent upon the writer to justify them.

## III

While endeavoring to analyze what it means to be "completely and generously educated," it would be well to analyze what it means to be educated. At the outset, let it be known that the man who will tell you that the "right things were done to his mind" is the rarest of creatures. Education is imperfect, as life is imperfect. Nevertheless, the educated person has been brilliantly defined as "one who knows what he is doing." While this is "too much to claim for any mortal," as Mark Van Doren aptly suggests, "its aim is in the right direction."

Pascal, with the commendable sophistry of the French, remarked that the educated man is "one who has substituted learned ignorance for natural ignorance." This is important. It keeps ignorance in the picture and places man midway between the beast and the angel, both of which epithets are universally understood. The beast "is unconscious of his ignorance" and the angel "knows without difficulty." Man, mindful of his ignorance, consequently strives to know, with difficulty to be sure, and to become a more effective human than he was before.

<sup>1</sup> Mark Van Doren, *Liberal Education*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1943) p. 99.

Perhaps then, education in its final sense, "calls for each man becoming more than he is." The educated person is "neither scared by novelty, nor bored without it"; he is an effective, self-sustaining human being, surely conscious of his limitations, and ever attempting to become a more thoughtful and sympathetic human being.

What claims can a liberal education make to qualify as a "complete and generous education?" I believe—and I like to say—that a liberal education speaks for itself and very eloquently too. It speaks in innumerable ways. It speaks in the work of progressive farmers, masters of a hundred arts, who know the proper care to prevent erosion, the importance of mulch, the danger of overgrazing, the folly of burning off grass land. It speaks in the courage of those who can say "no," after thoughtful conviction. It speaks in the sympathy and understanding of those who possess breadth of vision. It speaks in the clarity of those successful in using written symbols of language. It speaks in the charity of the listener.

Fundamentally a liberal education is practical. The skill of being is no different from any other skill. It too must be learned. This most practical of all skills is learned through the liberal arts. The liberal arts are the intellectual arts and the "keys to man's operation as man." They are exacting arts for they require skill of mind and hand. They are the liberating arts, for:

They involve memory, calculation, expression, manipulation and measurement. Without these powers no mind is free to be what it desires to be. The mind itself desires to be free—from the animal within, from the enigma without. It most of all desires to be free of the individual who was born possessing it. We can use no mind except our own; but the more we use it, and the better, the closer it is in its resemblance to whatever other minds have been used well.<sup>2</sup>

In name and throughout two millenniums of intellectual history, the dichotomy of the liberal arts has been termed by Latin Europe, the trivium, including grammar, rhetoric and logic, and the quadrivium, including arithmetic,

geometry, music and astronomy. In modern linguistics this is a curriculum in literature, mathematics and science. It is tantamount to describing the liberal arts as an education in the arts of reading, writing, speaking and thinking, with the latter as a basic art through which the others percolate. "What but thought deepens life," asked Emerson, "and makes us better than cow or cat?"

It is important to note that the value of a liberal education tends to be eventual and perennial rather than immediate and ephemeral. Its fruition may not be fully realized until later life.

The first thing a carpenter, doctor, or landscape designer must be is a person. If he is to live adequately with himself and society, he must be a satisfactory human being. In brief, he must be a liberal artist. The liberal artist is free—intellectually free. His mind can serve him as an effective instrument in dealing with life. We can still take it from Epictetus, the Greek slave in Rome, two thousand years ago, who said: "The rulers of the state have said that only freemen shall be educated; but God has said that only educated men shall be free." The liberal artist is disciplined, whence comes his freedom as a person. "The undisciplined individual is free only to do things badly. Untrained in tennis, he is free to miss every shot." The liberal artist is a "connoisseur of differences." William James has a lucid delineation of this phrase which might characterize the usefulness of a true liberal education:

What the colleges . . . teaching humanities . . . should at least try to give us is a general sense of what, under various disguises, superiority has always signified and may still signify. The feeling for a good human job anywhere, the admiration of the really admirable, the disesteem of what is cheap and trashy and impermanent . . . this is what we call the critical sense, the sense for ideal values. It is the better part of what men know as wisdom.

Finally, the liberal artist handles life as effectively as he can. Life is monotonous. "The arts, and especially the liberal arts, know what to make of the fact; how much to accept it and dignify it with duties, how much to cor-

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

rect it with pleasure, pretense, play and speculation."<sup>3</sup>

Can we not now say with Milton: "I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices both public and private of peace and war."

#### IV

The relation between a liberal and a vocational education presents sufficient points of view so as to keep the most Socratic of souls happy in speculative meanderings. At the outset, let it be understood that trenchant opposition to vocational education comes from those whose own careers may suffer as a result of any possible breakdown of the liberal arts. Vocations in the liberal arts may go out of vogue as any other vocation may.

A vocational education implies an education of relatively immediate usefulness, of a more or less specialized character, and offering training for a particular field of employment. If economic society is to function, and if individuals are to be of maximum service to society, vocational education is most necessary and desirable. It is detrimental only when it implies that a liberal education is not useful, but possibly it may have higher values, to be reserved for the elite of intellectual society. Such phrases as a "defense of humanism," "stimulating a critical and esthetic taste," or "an appreciative love for what is truly and enduringly beautiful" designate the "higher values" of cultural as contrasted with vocational subjects. The sentiment is perhaps touching, but too much—for intellectual integrity, or for that matter, for comfort. The humanities are thus shelved for those with the means, the time and the intellectual inclination to enjoy them.

History shows us that education has been always largely vocational. Our early cultural education of the colonial period, reserved for the few, was tinged with a vocational flavor. True, that training was for a vocation with a certain prestige attached to it. . . . Harvard, in 1636 opened its doors for the training of the ministry. The junior college today is giving that "prestige" to an infinite variety of vocations and putting them on a semi-professional or sub-professional basis. Pasadena Junior College, to be specific, offers the Auto,

Body and Fender Reconditioning Curricula, and Finch Junior College offers a course in Household Finance and Management.

With the passage of time, whenever any study originally utilitarian in purpose became useless due to a change in conditions, it was retained; the justification being that it did necessary things to the mind. Learning to live as a desirable human being was not considered sufficiently "vocational" or "useful." This is not intended as an invidious slur on vocational education, nor is it intended to imply that one must be a devotee of Plato to be a happy, useful member of society. The point is that vocational arts tend toward narrow specialization and are evanescent in quality. What is a prominent vocational art in one decade is not necessarily a prominent one in the subsequent decade.

The assumption that liberal education is useless in the training of skilled employees is unfortunate and false. Studies which fit the individual for a reasonable enjoyment of leisure time, which foster appreciation, values and understanding, and which enable him to function more completely as a human being are never useless.

The cogent issue is not liberal education as an appendix to vocational education. It is less naive than that. It is vocational education "with a difference." The difference is the humane direction and the liberal conception of vocational education. Narrowly conceived vocational training permits *only* the skillful, mechanical performance of tasks under the direction of others. This is an important ability and it is not to be underestimated; every society needs intelligent followers. But specialization practiced in this light only, with no room for facts and principles behind the tasks, and no understanding of the social implications of what is being achieved, will, over a period of time, prove to be unedifying.

Finally, it is somewhat disheartening to recognize that the accent on tomorrow should be so potent in education, as it is in life. Pascal has appropriately written: "We never live, but we hope to live, and as we are always preparing to be happy, it is inevitable that we should never be so. The student is lectured too much about another life for which this one of books and classes is preparing him, as if this one in

itself were nothing or could not be good." While the future has importance, let it not assume an unfortunate prestige over the present. At all times, all education is useful, be it liberal or vocational. Each is practical for definitive ends; that each of these ends be served is the vital issue.

It is undeniably true that the practical values of the liberal arts need augmented publicity. This raises the issue of whether liberal education—an education in the liberal arts—should be an absolute requirement for all, on the supposition that all will profit equally from it. I doubt it. I do not agree with President Barr, when he states that a man will be a better plumber if he has attended St. John's College. However, I do not doubt for one moment that liberal education should be maintained and strengthened for those with the need, the desire and the ability to profit by it. A mechanic may not be interested in the social implications of what he is doing, nor will knowing those implications make him of necessity a better mechanic. The sociologist is, on the other hand, very much interested.

The value of a liberal education is developed

by means of application and experience in working in a particular culture and setting. Dr. Dodds of Princeton has well said in this connection:

A liberal education should be an education for use. It is not enough merely to teach the content of academic courses. One must teach also how to apply what has been learned to daily living. Many a college graduate has never truly realized that there is a blood relationship between the methods and subject-matter of scholarship and the practical job of being a happy and useful citizen.

To the extent that the liberal arts are studied in this way, they will be efficacious.

The liberal arts possess both capacity and promise to meet the diversified needs of individuals in their education, humanistic as well as technical. If this be their promise, then indeed they shall merit our appreciation. They shall render distinguished service to American education, whose sphere they will greatly honor, and whose tolerant, liberal traditions they will greatly enhance.

## Illusions and Fictions of International Relations

JOSEPH ROUCEK

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### PART II

#### U. S. PUBLIC OPINION BETWEEN WARS

The years following World War I saw a steady lessening in the desire to cooperate with Europe. The Americans learned of secret treaties among the Allies, incompatible with Wilsonian ideals, and became quite disgusted with the whole "European mess"—although they never did learn that the British had offered to tell Wilson of these treaties and that he had refused to listen.<sup>15</sup> There followed the unpleasant squabble over war debts and reparations in which the European nations appeared as sordid, grubby money-changers. The average

American could not understand the international transfer of money and got merely the impression that our debtors did not want to pay. Few of the Americans ever learned that we lent Germany about as much as it turned over on reparation account. As we got farther away from the realities of World War I, we became increasingly more naive.

The United States became a creditor nation, but we refused to believe this or to act as a creditor nation should. We insisted on a large "favorable" balance of trade and identified it with prosperity; at the same time, we established a high tariff which prevented our customers abroad from sending us goods. This made it impossible for them to buy our exports,

<sup>15</sup> Bruce Bliven, "Public Opinion Between Wars," pp. 187-190, in "Twenty-Five Years of U. S. Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy Reports*, XIX, (October 15, 1943), 183-211.

and the only way out of the dilemma that we accepted was to lend vast sums abroad. Naturally, a large proportion of these loans went into default.

Even more naive was our foisting on the world that monument to innocence, the Kellogg-Briand pact, which undertook to outlaw war legally without removing one of its causes. The aggressors learned that they "could get away" with grabbing Manchuria and Ethiopia, the war in Spain, Hitler's seizure of the Rhineland and Austria, since America was not prepared to back up its policy with any measure of force whatever.

The Spanish Civil War was a dress rehearsal for World War II, with Italy and Germany fighting on one side and Russia on the other, testing weapons and techniques. When Japan launched a full-scale war against China in July, 1937, the United States "did not feel deeply enough on the subject to go beyond polite expressions of regret." Even when Hitlerism assumed threatening proportions, most Americans refused to believe him, perhaps on the ground that a man who really had such intentions would keep still about them. When the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor, America found itself struggling in a war which it might have prevented but for which it was then literally unprepared.

It was also a period of two decades characterized by the tragic parade of empty or angry phrases which began the day after the publication of the text of the Versailles Treaty. It began with bitter editorials about a Carthaginian peace. Very soon after came J. Maynard Keynes' famous "bamboozled President" and J. M. Keynes' denunciations of the peace settlements,<sup>16</sup> and then with the years the procession moved on through a "Balkanized Europe," and "the satellite nations of Central Europe tied to the chariot of French hegemony," and "the 200 Families that ruled France and our own Merchants of Death," up to the very day when Hitler marched into Poland and relegated all our formulas and gourmets to the rubbish heap. But they had served their purpose well, as Sir Norman Angell points out, by disrupting the unity of the

victors of Versailles who happened to be the great Western democracies.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE MYTH OF "CAPITALISTIC WARMONGERS"

It was the tragic era between World War I and World War II, an era which nurtured the overwhelming portion of America's youth on isolationism, pacifism and the doctrine that every American has a right to an easy and luxurious life and which enjoyed itself by repeating cliches of recrimination against munitions makers and "capitalist warmongers," against military preparedness and the fortifying of Guam, against undertaking any commitments for the peace of the world. Let us examine these modern superstitions.

Are the causes of modern war economic or political? No opinion is as widely accepted and as enthusiastically held as the thesis that wars are brought about by the greed of either some or all of the people who form the capitalistic class. The great masses get nothing out of the war but grief and poverty and only the rich people get the profits.

This doctrine is expounded, in variations, in numerous learned or less learned books, nearly all emanating from the teachings of Karl Marx.<sup>18</sup> It has been popularized as a cliche which blames wars on "capitalism" or "capitalists," or "international bankers," or "investors," or "munitions-makers" or some equivalent group. Yet, historical research and actual experience do not support such a contention. Such a reasoning overestimates the part played by the acquisitive instinct, the lust for wealth, and underestimates the lust for power. How does this thesis explain the fact that the "capitalistic" United States, Great Britain, and France have been pacifistic to an extent bordering on suicide, and in which the aggressors have been Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese army? We all acknowledge that this was a "total war"—in which the "bankers" and "capitalists" had nothing to say about the "war-making," in which the "munition-makers" were either nationalized in the totalitarian

<sup>16</sup> J. M. Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922, and *The Revision of the Treaty* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922).

<sup>17</sup> Sir Norman Angell, "Shall We Writers Fail Again?" *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXVI (March 20, 1943), 4-10. For the reactions of five political scientists (Max Lerner, James Truslow Adams, John Chamberlain, Allan Nevins and Simeon Strunsky); see *Ibid.*, (April 3, 1943), pp. 4 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Sulzbach, *Capitalistic Warmongers* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, Public Policy Pamphlet No. 35, 1942).

countries or nearly deprived of profits in other countries, and in which the dominant factor was national consciousness. How about the horrible fate, associated with defeat, suffered by the "capitalists" of France and other subjugated nations?

The Nye Committee of 1935 took great pains to discover concrete facts about the international warmongering of the munitions-makers.<sup>19</sup> It was revealed that the naval-shipbuilding industry hired William B. Shearer to take care of its interests at the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1927. Shearer admitted he had been commissioned by the shipbuilding industry to use definite "tactics which demanded a naval parity for the United States"—something which we wish, *now*, that he would have accomplished. But he had gone at the request not only of the industrialists, but also at that of "a great many patriotic organizations" and of naval officers who "collaborated with him surreptitiously, supplying secret data for his use at the Geneva Conference."<sup>20</sup> Obviously, not only the "merchants of Death" but also patriotic organizations hankered for more preparedness.

Without analyzing further additional facts which explode this fairy-tale, we can only state that this myth "has had widespread and disastrous political consequences . . . and there is no more dangerous superstition in the modern world."<sup>21</sup>

#### THE MYTH OF THE "SHAME OF VERSAILLES"

When the Treaty of Versailles is bitterly criticized as a large factor in bringing on the Second World War, as it is even today in certain quarters, it must be pointed out that the economic clauses with their alleged pronouncement of a judgment of German war guilt and consequent responsibility for "just reparations," are at the root of that criticism and of German resentment. At the same time it cannot be too clearly stated that German publicists—and Hitler in particular—had systematically distorted the meaning and intent of these clauses of the Treaty, and in so doing had

not only convinced the German people but also many well-meaning people in the Allied countries that Article 231 placed sole responsibility for the war upon Germany.<sup>22</sup>

It did nothing of the sort.

Germany was merely obliged to admit responsibility for war-damages caused by her aggression, as can be seen from Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty:

The Allied and Associate Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

The word "guilt" does not appear in the official text, but the link between Germany's responsibility for causing all the damage, with the admission of having imposed the war upon the Allies, constitutes a clear affirmation of "war guilt." Subsequent softening interpretations of purely formal grounds convinced neither the Germans nor all those in other parts of the world who had accepted the German interpretation. In political matters it is not the words which count, but the meaning attached to them.

Of the fact that Germany was the first power to invade foreign territory in 1914 there has never been any question. And this priority of military action and invasion has been frequently defined as "aggression" in subsequent international agreements, some of which bear Germany's signature.

In fact, the Versailles Treaty needs to be rescued from much of the enormous and disastrous mythology that has accumulated around it. We still need to dispose of the legend of "Carthaginian peace"—a legend invented by the "tired liberals" of the post-war reaction, and by them placed, ironically, in Hitler's hands as the most powerful of all his ideological weapons for the destruction of the democratic liberalism of the West.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> "Munitions Industry, Naval Shipbuilding, Preliminary Report of the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry," *Senate Report*, No. 944, 74th Congress, 1st Sess., Vol. IV (Washington, D. C., 1935).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>21</sup> Walter Sulzbach, *Capitalistic Warmongers*, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> S. Harrison Thomson, "The Post-War Settlements: 1919-1923, Chapter II, pp. 14-39, in Joseph S. Roucek, *Contemporary Europe* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1941).

<sup>23</sup> Paul Birdsall, *Versailles Twenty Years After* (New York: Reynald and Hitchcock, 1941). Charles Seymour, "Versailles in Perspective," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, (Autumn, 1943), pp. 481-97.

No less convincing is the exposure by Birdsall of the more recent and contrary legend that the peace was not Carthaginian enough, and that its greatest fault lay in the success with which a doctrinaire Anglo-American "idealism" defeated the "realistic" French effort to secure the dismemberment of Germany and her destruction as a European great power. It was not that the treaty made inadequate provision for French security; the failure was in the want of will and nerve among the victor powers to apply the provisions. The process, begun in the catastrophic repudiation of the whole structure by the United States, reached its climax in the Anglo-French failure to defend the demilitarization of the Rhineland in 1936. That the two governments declined to act is no criticism of the Rhineland provisions which they refused to enforce. Subsequent history has shown, not disapproved, the adequacy of these provisions. One can see that the very passion of the French insistence on paper security at Versailles was itself an early expression of the defeatism which destroyed France.

When hearing about the harshness of the Versailles Treaty, we must recall the actual practice in the treaties imposed upon Russia and Rumania by Germany in the spring of 1918.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE GREATEST SWINDLE IN HISTORY

The story of reparations cannot be told without a smile, so plainly does it show up the infantile illusions of the victors in the last war. Following the idea of Wilson, the Allies decided not to demand "indemnity" from the conquered, but to exact damages for injury to persons and property, as well as payment for the upkeep of the troops of occupation. The "war guilt" clause is worth citing again in this connection:

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

In regards to reparations, all the Allied governments, after lengthy study and con-

<sup>24</sup> Cf. John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Forgotten Peace, Brest-Litovsk*.

sultations with experts, presented bills which totalled a sum so vast that it seemed out of the question to write it into the Versailles Treaty. The omission did not escape the German plenipotentiaries, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau offered a flat sum of a hundred billion gold marks to be divided among the Allies. The proposition was haughtily rejected, the negotiators of Versailles hoping to obtain four or five times that amount from Germany. Incapable of solving the problem themselves, they passed it on to an Inter-Allied Reparations Commission.

The Commission went to work at once. It took them two years to estimate (May 1921) Germany's debt, not including the cost of the occupation, at 132 billion gold marks. Already there had been a big reduction of the four or five hundred billion hoped for at the outset. Anxious to assure a regular system of payments without destroying the entire internal economy of Germany, the Allies thought up the plan of the so-called A.B.C. notes, which never even began to be put into effect. Then came the occupation of the Ruhr, and passive resistance (1923), the Dawes plan (1924) whose most obvious result was to give to Germany fresh money and fresh credit; and the Young Plan (1929) which reduced the German debt to thirty-eight billion gold marks.

As a matter of fact, Germany paid, from the Armistice until the Hoover moratorium (which marked the end of the reparation payments) between five and seven billion dollars.<sup>25</sup> During the same period, however, Germany borrowed over ten billion dollars from foreign states—over half of which came from the United States, with Great Britain a close second. Furthermore these loans were not repaid. It is obvious that Germany, therefore, paid almost nothing in the way of reparations—outside the cost of the army of occupation and a few million marks of deliveries in kind (notably coal from the Ruhr) up to the

<sup>25</sup> E. O. Guerrant, "Economic Determinism and German Expansion," *World Affairs Interpreter*, XII (January, 1942), 415-429; Joseph S. Roucek, "American Public Opinion and Mythical German Claims," *New Europe*, II (June, 1942), 202-203, and "American Public Opinion in the Appeasement Period," *Ibid.*, II (July, 1942), 224-228; J. L. Benvenisti, "Shall Germany Pay," *Commonwell*, XXXVIII (May 14, 1943), pp. 90-94; R. G. Vansittart, "The Greatest Swindle in History," *Reader's Digest*, XX (November, 1943), 4-7.

day when Hitler announced that he would not pay another mark. It is also obvious that not only did World War I cost the Allies more than the Germans in actual cash and devastation of property, but that reparations paid by the German government until 1931 were actually paid out of Allied funds.<sup>26</sup>

What is important is the fact that many people, and particularly the average American, took up Hitler's arguments as to reparations "injustice," although the facts indicate that the main trouble lay with the Allies, who foolishly supposed that having won the war they could expect Germany to make good some of the wanton damage she had inflicted.

Then there is that little matter of the German inflation, another propaganda point for Germany. The German inflation was undoubtedly a fact and the suffering and hardship caused by it were also facts. It reduced great masses of the professional and middle classes to beggary. It also weighed very heavily on the working classes.

But this whole business was quite deliberate.<sup>27</sup> Enormous sums were paid out to German industry by the German government, which raised the money by increasing the note circulation. For instance, a vast sum was paid out to the German shipping companies in 1921 on their agreement to replace within ten years the tonnage ceded by them in compensation of Allied tonnage sunk by U-boats. In actual fact the whole of this tonnage was replaced not in ten years, but in two, and German ship-owners, having palmed off their own uneconomic crocks to their victors, were already taking the trade of these victors away with new, fast and highly modern ships.

Then, Stinnes demanded compensation for his ceded property in Northern France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Lorraine. He received compensation thanks to the printing press, and thanks to that compensation he was able to found a vast industrial empire with provinces

in Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Holland, Sweden, Italy, Denmark, Russia and the Dutch East Indies.

The truth is that during these years Germany was engaged in a gigantic overhaul of the whole of her industrial machine and laid a part of the foundations (the rest was laid by means of fantastic subsidies) of her subsequent rearmament. She had completely re-equipped and modernized her railway system by 1923, and it is significant that the first commercial loan made after the signature of the Dawes Agreement was a loan of ten million dollars to Krupps.

After the German inflation, Germany recapitalized herself by borrowing from her victors—with highly agreeable results. From 1924 onwards Germany began to enjoy a period of unprecedented prosperity. By 1928 Germany's national income, despite a loss of territory, had risen to 75 per cent above the 1913 level, against a rise in the cost of living of 40 per cent.

So much for the economic strangulations by the Treaty of Versailles.

#### THE FICTION OF LEBENSRAUM

Now turn from the fiction of the reparation to that of the need for Lebensraum. Much has been said by Germans as to the intense population pressure upon their country in contrast to the vast spaces of the earth occupied by "inferior" races. Several fallacies underlie the distinction between have and have-not nations. One is the assumption that the territories of an empire can be exploited for the exclusive benefit of the mother country and that the mother country gives nothing in return. Imperial Spain was ruined by that policy.

Another fallacy is that abundant natural resources are necessary to prosperity and happiness. What about Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden—to name only the countries having no colonial possessions? Who has heard them crying out for *Lebensraum*, or demanding special economic concessions, or engaging in warfare in modern times?

It was Japan that was attacking China. Was the average standard of living in Japan below that in China? Was Italy a poorer country than Ethiopia and the Albania that she invaded and seized? If Germany was a "have-not" country in 1938, were Czechoslovakia and

<sup>26</sup> James T. Shotwell, *What Germany Forgot* (New York, Macmillan, 1940). The student is cautioned that there is no universal agreement on the reparations figures, especially as they relate to German payments. See also J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Wreck of Reparations* (New York: Wm. Morrow, 1933); G. Borsky, *The Greatest Swindle in the World: History of Reparations* (London: Frederick Muller, 1942).

<sup>27</sup> Lillian T. Mowrer, *Rip Tide of Aggression* (New York: William Morrow, 1942), Chapter IV, "Germany: Reparations Wriggle," pp. 56-81.

## Poland "have" countries?

The claims of the Nazis to economic "equality" were, of course, fraudulent; they wanted to dominate, exploit, pillage and enslave. But they were good attractive arguments—for a while, at least—for many an American. Thus Herr Funk, Germany's Minister of Economics, quoted with approval Colonel Lindbergh's assertion before the outbreak of World War II—that "when the rich get too rich and the poor too poor, something happens." This explanation of the war had been for long a part of Nazi and Fascist propaganda, and several college generations were raised on this "explanation"—one of the most unfortunate theses imposed on the American mind.<sup>28</sup>

From another point of view, the following enlightening statistics (all for 1939) show that of all the European states the greatest human concentration was found in the little principality of Monaco, with a population of some 24,000 people in an area of only 370 acres. Among the more "regular-sized" nations, Belgium had more than 708 inhabitants for each square mile of territory. The Netherlands counted some 680, while the estimate for Great Britain is nearly 480 persons per square mile. In comparison with these figures, German and Italian populations—in numerical terms at least—were less crowded. Germany, including the many acquisitions in 1939, was credited

<sup>28</sup> Particularly by such works as Frank H. Simonds and Brooks Emery, *The Great Powers in World Politics* (New York, American Book Company, new ed., 1939). For criticism of this "have vs. have-nots theory," see: Francis J. Brown, Charles Hodges and Joseph S. Roucek, *Contemporary World Politics* (New York, Wiley, 2nd ed., 1940); Norman Angell, *Peace with the Dictators?* (New York: Harper, 1940), pp. 408-415; Melchior Palyi, "Economic Foundations of the German Totalitarian States," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (January, 1941), 469-486; Dickinson, *The German Lebensraum* (New York: Penguin Books, 1943); Gustav Stolper, *This Age of Fable* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942), Chapter IX, "Of Have and Have-not Nations," pp. 171-189, X, "Of the Economic Causes of War," pp. 190-218; H. W. Speigel, *The Economic Causes of Total War* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1942), Chapter I, "Economic Causes of War," and particularly pp. 5 ff. Also Johannes Mattern, *Geopolitik* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942), particularly Chapter VIII, "Geopolitik Meets Geopolitik," pp. 107-117.

<sup>29</sup> Incidentally, the absorption of Bohemia-Moravia by the German Reich in 1939 increased rather than reduced German population density. For these former Czechoslovak provinces were by far the most settled regions of that country, with an average of over 357 people for each square mile.

with roughly 340 inhabitants to the square mile, Italy with 359.<sup>29</sup>

Other arguments hardly fare better under close scrutiny. The Axis complained about the lack of access to raw materials; it is enough to state that these aggressive nations wanted more minerals for waging war than they had or could easily afford to buy.<sup>30</sup> The common conception has been that Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., the United States, and certain other nations possess vast quantities of raw materials all out of proportion to their needs, and denied access to the have-not nations. But no nation possesses all the raw materials necessary for a completely isolated existence. The important consideration is that the materials necessary for the greatest productive capacity of a nation must be easily produced and the market must be unhampered by artificial barriers. Thus postwar Germany lacked such materials as copper, iron, lead, graphite, mica, and bauxite, yet none of these raw materials were subjected to the slightest export restrictions by the producing nations. In fact, where did Germany acquire all the needed materials, including iron ore and rubber, for her efficient war machine which has conquered Europe? Or shall we ask the embarrassing question about where Japan got her scrap iron before Pearl Harbor? The United States is almost completely lacking in antimony, chromite, manganese, nickel, tin, asbestos, bauxite, platinum, potash, and other raw materials.

Japanese arguments in this matter ought not to be forgotten. Japan propounded that she was driven to despair by lack of food and raw materials within her own frontier. In spite of this, since the Restoration, she was quite able to double her population, elevate her standard of living, and build up a modern industry.<sup>31</sup> She had sufficient food within her own frontiers and she had never been deprived of the opportunity to buy raw materials. For instance, although Japan possesses no cotton, she was able by peaceful competition to take away Great Britain's former position as the world's

<sup>30</sup> C. K. Leith, J. W. Furness and Cleona Lewis, *World Minerals and World Peace* (Washington, The Brookings Institution, 1943). Part III, "Access to Raw Materials."

<sup>31</sup> Hugh Byas, *The Japanese Enemy* (New York: Knopf, 1942).

leading exporter of textiles. And she accomplished this feat with cotton purchased not only in the United States but also in the British possession of India.

Unfortunately, the willingness of the democracies to concede the ideological validity of the arguments of the have-not nations, was another cause of the Second World War. Once they conceded that the "haves" were under moral or political obligation to share possessions with the "have-not" nations, there could be no end to "have-not" demands for a redistribution of resources under threat of war.

Furthermore, we live in a dynamic world. The use we make of natural resources is continually changing. Fuel oil and rubber, for example, now are essential war commodities; during the Napoleonic wars they were unknown. Who is there that now knows what commodities in addition to these, or it may be in place of them, will be essential fifty or one hundred years hence, where they may be or who will possess them first?

Having or not having is not the question. Are those who happen to be in possession of the natural resources making good use of them—is the real question?

Economic determinism as a justification for German warlike moves can be discounted. But it was a powerful, attractive ideology which helped to make World War II possible.

#### THE MYTH OF ISOLATION

Need we to be concerned with the exploded myth of isolationism? Probably not. But this strange phenomenon is by no means dead and will raise its ugly head again. Hence it cannot be ignored.

The notion that the United States has ever had isolation gives the serious student of international affairs a severe headache, as one of the most persistent fairy-tales and a delusion. We won our national independence with the help of France. We established and maintained the Monroe Doctrine with the tacit consent of England and the support of the British Navy. For a century we have been expanding our geographical commitments in China, Japan, Alaska, the Philippines, Hawaii and all over the place, repeatedly going out on a limb and then saying we have no world obligations. Even after World War I we decided to go back to our isolation—as if we had any to go back to. The

isolationist would do well to do a little history reading. He might well remember that the Atlantic Ocean did not secure us against invasion in the past—and thus will not in the future; just let him read up on the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, when it took a fighting fleet and convoys about six weeks to cross the Atlantic.

Possibly we can summarize here some other fallacies connected with the isolationist reasoning. We heard that our national defense begins at the high water mark, and that it is aggressive and immoral to repulse an invader until he is waiting in the undertow; yet all the experiences of World Wars I and II showed that our national defense begins at the farthest point from our boundaries where we can successfully check the foe. It is immoral to fight a war until and unless we are assured that the war will eventuate in a "just peace"? The prime war aim of any war is victory and the wish to avoid defeat. Whoever in time of war undertakes to define the peace terms accurately is simply betting on a complete uncertainty. Is this another war between rival imperialisms? That is a specious half truth, based on the obvious fact that in every war some fault attaches to both sides. The real issue is of the balance of fault. The practical question is: Which is preferable if you must choose, British imperialism at its legendary worst or Hitlerian imperialism in its own average stride? There is also the further fallacy in this comparison that Hitler's misdeeds of ten years were confronted by England's misdeeds for more than three centuries.

#### HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

A little learning is a dangerous thing. Shallow thinking and training in philosophical semantics and illusory world fairy tales ought to have no place preparing for the understanding of world politics which, in the final analysis are the most brutal and realistic aspects of human existence. Mental confusion was one of the first of Hitler's weapons.<sup>32</sup> As a weapon of Hitlerism it helped to bring the world so closely to the brink of the abyss.

As shown, none of these "wishful fictions" solved the problems which they were designed

<sup>32</sup> Joseph S. Roucek, "Hitler's Propaganda as a War Weapon," *The Educational Forum*, VII (November, 1942), 67-83.

to solve. In fact, they contributed to the very thing which they were to prevent—the outbreak of the war. We walked out on the League of Nations; we wrecked our navy; we kept our army in a shameful state; we talked nobly of outlawing war and turned the French over to the tender mercies of Hitler; we lulled ourselves into forgetfulness with the narcotics of "M-day" hoaxes. Some of us listened to the "Moral Disarmament" fakers. All that with tragic and horrible expensive results!

Obviously, the lesson taught to us from our surveys of the two decades between the two World Wars is that America's public opinion must be supplied with sound arguments and abundant facts—facts and more facts. We

must pay tribute to the great institutions that have made American democracy—private enterprise, popular education, political democracy, and religious freedom. But these are dynamic forces, always born in-being and in-process-of-becoming, rather than only respected traditions. A people must always be on the alert to close quickly the gaps between their customary habits and the new outlooks and technologies. There are always these cultural lags—and the traumatic experiences that result from them. They can be solved only by the re-examination of facts; otherwise—as in the past—we shall again generate our energy on behalf of the causes which are only fictions, fairy-tales and myths.

## Axioms for the Social Studies?

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The tremendous obligations and opportunities of the schools for influence in any period—peace, war, reconstruction—are undeniable. To those who so glibly say: "But what can we do in the face of the greater influence of the home?" we answer by reminding them that we had "the home" in our classroom in some cases less than twenty years ago, and that "the home" of twenty years hence is in our classrooms today.

If the influence of all teachers is great, that of the social studies teachers is supreme. If as a non-social studies teacher I have the temerity to formulate a question regarding that branch, we should again remind you that nothing is more closely related to the social studies than the languages, and that all the world has felt free to discuss language teaching. Probably no group ever received so much lay comment. This time the language teacher is the layman, and this the query she humbly propounds: *When are the social studies to have a basis of principles or a foundation of axioms—and what are some of those axioms to be?*

I have just picked up a plane geometry text and have read among the axioms: "If equals are multiplied by equals the products are equal." No mathematics teacher feels constrained to say to his class that it was an injustice to make A equal B in the first place,

and so they will ignore the axiom. "The whole is greater than any of its parts, and is equal to the sum of all its parts." Surely no one insists that since the treaty that formed the whole in the beginning was unfair, the first part of the axiom is voided, or that too much propaganda makes it impossible to agree that the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts.

Spanish classes and an intense interest in the Spanish Civil War, and some German classes in the Hitlerian pre-war period showed me the sands on which public opinion shifted. I was extremely conscious of the vast bases of information and the seemingly complete absence of *basic principles* in so much of the thinking, even that issuing from the social studies classes. A social studies teacher of unquestionably great influence questioned Germany's culpability in the First World War, having, it appeared, no basic concept that would have made an armed march through Belgium guilt per se. In reference to the second conflict no one forgets how many invoked the Versailles treaty, British propaganda, and the evils of big business instead of an *unconditional condemnation of armed aggression*.

After the first world conflict civilized nations had forsaken war as the proper instru-

ment for the settlement of differences, yet when the conservative group in Spain turned fratricidal guns on a duly elected government, a social studies teacher said to me that she was not certain about it, for she believed they were fighting Communism. I shall never forget my dismayed realization that such a fine woman still apparently condoned war, *aggressive war*, against an elected government if she thought it was fought for the thing she favored and opposed that of which she did not approve.

A discussion of whether she was wrong or right in her premise has really no place in this paper. The fact was *she had not forsworn war*. She probably went with the rest of a great city to see an anti-war play the very night that representatives of the Spanish republican government were here to tell their story. Spain, that proved a truth in 1492, proved another in 1936—namely, that many Americans, including social studies teachers, *had not outlawed aggressive war when waged, as they believed in defense of the things they favored*. Should that not be remembered in judging that portion of the German nation who were told that their aggressive war was in defense of their way of life?

There was then in our teaching no axiom that:

Just as civilized individuals have abandoned the aggressive use of force in the settlement of their problems and their struggle for justice, civilized nations, and entities within the nations, can and must do likewise.

When Germany indulged in her campaign against the Jews, there was no axiom invoked on racial issues. Instead, our own treatment of the Negro was cited. No one heard the axiom that:

One evil cannot be defended by another. No axiom was cited to prove that:

The direction determines the degree of guilt.

Germany was persecuting those who had been an integral part of her society and progress for centuries. The colored who had been slaves in our own country only a little more than a man's lifetime ago, in 1930 were owning homes and cars, and were being granted master's and doctor's degrees, though admittedly much was and is still denied them.

When Germany attacked and bombed Poland, they—these leaders of ours, in the classroom and without—called into question the United States' and England's past. How about the Mexican War and the Boer War? No one called it axiomatic that:

So long as the present is defended by the past there can be no progress on this earth!

There are new dangers. Even this holocaust has been "good" to many. Men went to work in the United States. Stocks rose in value. People earned more than ever before. The colored had new opportunities. We have learned of parts of the world we never knew. Is there any axiom that:

No matter what the gains of war, the cost is always greater.

Or an axiom that:

Nothing good comes from war which might not have come from peaceful missions. Or that:

No matter what the gains, aggressive war is evil.

A great world organization has been born of the conflict. Yet we have been frequently reminded even by those in the seats of the mighty that only with the patience and the faith and the help of all can it long function. Is there not to be stressed such an axiom as that:

No law enforcement body can survive without the cooperation of the people.

Our own fiasco in the prohibition period, when instead of changing a law, we almost irrevocably changed *the attitude of our nation toward law, proved that*. This writer believes so strongly in the force of public opinion that she still believes—perhaps unrealistically—that Germany might not have followed a leader who launched another world war had she ever heard 130 million voices from the United States of America in every utterance uncompromisingly condemning her program. Instead Germany heard the *condoning voices of heroes and authors*—and social science teachers—much more concerned with pointing out the errors of the Republican party in 1918 than of Germany in 1939.

There is a certain materialism evident this time, as if our *only* reason for stopping war is that we must to save ourselves. It reminds one of the rich woman talking for the Community

Fund and speaking frankly of it as merely a means to protect one's own children, with no suggestion that a good mother could never be wholly content knowing that other mothers' children were suffering. Is there still a chance for a realistic facing of dangers and at the same time a little more idealism? Can we depend upon our powerful social studies teachers' "bloc" to educate our young people in *principles*—unconditionally?

The atomic bomb changes nothing except in scope. He who begins a war *expects to win*. If new weapons could bring peace, it would have come with the advent of gun powder, or mechanized fighting. The greater the weapon, the greater the defenses, and the greater inventive activity to *surpass* the weapon.

There is another matter which concerns all teachers as much as any one group. Should emphasis on leadership and personality—the lodestar of the last decades—be subordinated to an emphasis on principles and character? Can we urge our youth to weigh what a man says rather than what following he is able to command? When that comes, will the same leader be any less likely to be acclaimed today and spat upon tomorrow?

Mathematics teachers teach logic and laws. Language teachers likewise teach principles in

the structure of the language, though we also have the happy privilege of serving as hosts in making people known to others of a different speech and customs. We add the social amenities to our laws. The mathematics teacher is not afraid of appearing biased when he insists that "like powers or like positive roots of equals are equal." No language teacher invites a town meeting by insisting that a noun and its modifiers agree.

In this "fever" period, which may prove more dangerous for the world than the travail, may not the social studies teachers, instead of attempting to determine *justice* in all cases, teach as an axiom that:

There can never be complete justice in the opinion of both sides in any contention, and that

Compromise is the only substitute for force.

Please God that the social studies teachers—still presenting all the facts and both sides in a debatable question—may yet formulate a series of axioms with which they *have the right to indoctrinate* their students, and that the day may yet come in which, with a solid foundation of agreed upon fundamentals, as in mathematics and language, they may not be afraid to call the social studies, social science.

## Teen-Agers Also Have Opinions

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A group of later teen-agers in a large senior high school met their teacher of social studies one morning and handed him the following questions:

How can we change the world so that everyone has an equal opportunity to become that which he has in him to become? Where can we learn more skills? How can work become a delight instead of a curse? What is the art of love and marriage? What is the art of rearing children? What is meant by the public interest and how can it be enhanced? What is the recipe for creating more friendship at home and more fellowship in

the world? What is the good life like? How can living become more joyful?

The teacher read the questions, then he looked at the delegation with embarrassment and admitted: "You've got me! The prescribed syllabus says nothing under those heads; my notebook from teacher training college contains no recipes to help you; in fact, the high school, as an institution and as now operated cannot answer you. I grant you it would be interesting to know the answers, but I fear you will have to wait until you become more mature, then, life perhaps, will give you an answer. Meanwhile you'd better get on with your assign-

ments, so you can make the grade! Moreover, these are highly controversial issues which the school authority has tabooed. You know, the principal fired my predecessor for using the word 'pregnancy' in a class of juniors. On some of these question you might consult with our leading minister and with the judge of the Superior Court."

The pupils departed, wondering: "What is a school for?"

They called on the local minister. He apologized: "These questions really pertain to the secular order of events. My own interest and preoccupation is with those spiritual intangibles as would tend to prepare folks for the hereafter. The best advice I can offer has already been well said by an ancient prophet: 'If you have faith, all these things shall be added unto you.' You must believe the gospel, if you would be saved." The youths left feeling rather weak in the faith.

Then they came before the judge who was clad in his dark funereal robe which cast some doubt upon his gender. His Honor listened to the questions, and straightway looked in the lexicon for an opinion by the dead, legalistic minds to see if they might have a bearing upon those live and timely questions, but he despaired of finding any relevant precedent.

"The Court has but one judicial answer," admonished the judge gravely, "and it is: obey the law, mind your parents' counsel, and obey the regulations of the school authority, then you will find this to be the best of all possible worlds."

The youthful inquirers departed sorely perplexed. One of them suggested: "They sure know how to pass the buck." "There ought to be a law," chimed in another, "to compel these gentry to keep up-to-date." "Yes," interposed a third, "they tell us: 'You are the future of America,' but they don't know how to bring the present up to the future, nor how to give that future present delight and aspiration."

The teen-agers are much more intelligent than we are prone to credit them; they know more, despite deliberate attempts on the part of their elders to prolong infancy into the twenties. In a worldly way youth is much wiser today than formerly. The sources of stimulation and contacts have multiplied via the cinema, the radio, the press, books, the automobile,

the school, and urban life. Youth gains time through all of these contacts. A trait of youth is to strive hard to become adult. In some parts of America, opinion is strongly in favor of lowering the coming-of-age from twenty-one to eighteen years, though the school superintendents do not share this opinion, probably because they know of the school's shortcomings in training youth for cooperative democracy.

We have underestimated the intelligence of youth. The psychological tests following the First World War gave currency to a disparaging attitude toward the popular I.Q. The masses registered an intelligence equivalent to fourteen-year-olds. Carl C. Brigham in his *Study of American Intelligence* also gave aid and comfort to those who prided themselves on being of the elite, whose genes stemmed from the "privileged" families, and the word *moronic* became an epithet for those unfortunates who did not belong in the higher income brackets or in any income tax bracket at all. In 1930 Professor Brigham repudiated his erstwhile findings on psychological differences among nationals. He declared them wholly invalid and scientifically indefensible in the light of newer, critical, and more refined methods of testing. A whole theory upset by a new fact! Among scientists intellectual integrity is partly a response to the compulsive nature of demonstrable evidence, so that the admission of error does not so much take courage as it does better thinking.

Today we know that a normal boy or girl of 13 or 14 years possesses sufficient native intelligence to meet the ordinary requirements of life. What he or she needs is more knowledge, skill, and experience. Indeed, the problems of the world are not due to any shortage in brain-power but to the use made of that power, to the monopoly of knowledge that really matters, to a narrowly socialized morality, and to political chicanery. There is among us of the higher gauged or creative brains enough to leaven the whole lump, but the superior intelligences must become conscious of a moral obligation to the whole. How to bring that compulsive tendency toward integrity which is operative in science into politics is a problem in social invention, in social education.

We in America are committed, verbally at least, to the idea that a better life is possible

through the diffusion of knowledge. This puts a profound responsibility upon the educational agencies. It is a commonplace criticism that the high school is the weakest link in the organization of our school system. The difficulties are of course both external and internal, but, very probably the greatest difficulty is lodged within the system.

Being aware of a good deal of stirring and unrest among various areas of youth, I took advantage recently of a chance to let youth speak for itself in regard to what it desires to know. And, I feel that thoughtful parents and citizens would like to know what I learned.

From three different coeducational high schools, one in the Midwest, two on the Pacific Coast, I secured a collection of questions, about 1,000, from 236 girls and 102 boys, ranging in age from 15 to 18 years inclusive—the notorious teen-ages. These pupils were enrolled in the grades from the tenth to the twelfth inclusive. They studied history and English. I conducted the inquiries on the Pacific Coast; the other was contributed by a cooperating teacher who also has a professional interest in modernizing the curriculum.

At the beginning of the period of each inquiry, the teacher announced: During the next ten or fifteen minutes you may write in a 1,2,3, order without any feeling of restraint or inhibition, freely and frankly critical, on: "What I'd Like To Know." Write down any problem or question that bothers you and on which you seek more light and leading.

The questions range quite widely, but I have grouped them under eighteen convenient categories, as in the table following. The sample is admittedly limited, but even as such it is interesting and suggestive. In fact the geographical situation made no difference in the type of question. The parallel was remarkable.

I shall reproduce some of the questions so that the reader may see more in detail that our daughters and sons can ask some quite embarrassing, albeit mature, questions.

Why shouldn't a high school of commerce offer a variety of science courses? Is there any truth in astrology? Is there anything to the ouija board? Was there anything here before God was? Are you afraid to die?

Do war marriages last? How old is the average man when he marries? Do you think

TABLE  
*Type of Question Concerning  
Which More Knowledge is  
Desired*

	Number of Inquiries	
	Girls	Boys
1. Selection of College.....	8	2
2. Child Care, Sex Education, Marital Information.....	29	9
3. Human Nature and Applied Psychology.....	31	7
4. Personality Development and Adjustment.....	45	11
5. Vocation, and Educational Guidance.....	50	18
6. Getting on With Others.....	58	8
7. Inadequacy of Curriculum, Textbooks and Teaching Methods.....	88	20
8. Social, Economic, Political Problems (Controversial Issues).....	101	50
9. Boy-Girl Relations.....	61	19
10. Criticism of Parents.....	53	14
11. Criticism of School Administration.....	45	12
12. Criticism of Teachers.....	45	11
13. Science and Technology.....	29	24
14. Alternatives to Schooling.....	22	9
15. Prejudice and Snobocracy.....	19	8
16. Fear of Job Competition.....	13	2
17. Recreational Institutions.....	13	4
18. Meaning of Life and Death.....	3	5
Total	713	233

a woman's place is in the home? What qualities make a good wife? I am eighteen and have a proposal for marriage, should I finish school first? Why can't we have a class in the art of love and marriage? What is the minimum age for a girl to enter marriage? When can a girl make dates independent of chaperonage? I am eighteen: Why should I not be good to a boy friend who goes off to war for the four freedoms? Why is there no class in child care? Why do people talk as if sex relations are dirty? Why does a girl always have to set the boundary in necking? At what age is a girl nubile? Why are parents suspicious of you when you take a girl out? Is it because they know what they used to do? Is it dangerous to have a baby?

What can I do with my brother who teases me about my fat legs? Why do so many boys prefer "wolverines?" Do you believe in the adage: When in Rome, do as the Romans? If we are not pugnacious by nature, why do we have wars? How can you make others understand a new idea without them getting all het up? How can I stick to my resolutions? Why are most girls jealous of each other? Why do boys always compare girls' legs and shapes? How can I develop a strong will? Why do some girls play the boys for suckers? Why are boys so fickle? Why do boys expect more than they give? Why is a man in uniform so attractive

to girls? Why don't we acquire more poise in school? Why do some people develop a sense of humor and others remain old grumps? How can I keep my younger brother from being so vulgar-minded? Why is a girl at eighteen two or three years older than a boy of the same age? Why do some girls snub you when you can't dress well and go places?

Why must we take subjects that have no interest and no bearing on our daily lives? How can some teachers be so crabby? Why don't we have more men teachers? Why not advance a student by achievement instead of by time-serving semesters? Why not study more current history? Why must high school history repeat what we had in the grades? Could teaching be made more interesting? Why do catty teachers have pets? How can a teacher expect us to give two hours of study to each subject? (I work after school.) Why do teachers test so much and teach so little? Why don't the kids form a union and limit the school day to six hours with no home work?

Why is there so much conflict over trivial matters at home? At what age should parents cease to treat their children as babies? Why does PTA butt in on the kids' affairs so often? Why do older folks talk differently to our face than behind our backs? Why can't you always tell your mother what is on your heart? Why do adults beat around the bush when they try to answer certain questions? How can one make father agree when one wants something or think of something?

Does war make men more brutal? How can we establish equality of opportunity abroad when we have not got it at home? Will those who came from afar to work in our shipyards go back east after the war? Why do civilian police get on a high horse of authority and order us kids around? Why is it that if Socialism is good for all of the people they don't accept it? What is the difference between Socialism, Communism, and Nazism?

How can we get some real help to discuss occupations after the war? How can I become a great humanitarian in the courts? Where can I acquire some skill that is needed in the world?

Why are teen-agers called "hoodlums" and "bums" by the mayor in one breath and the "future of America" in the next? Why will a

principal of schools treat you mean and unfair in school, and then when you are called to the colors to fight for him and the country, he will make a nice speech about you?

These questions give us a glimpse of the many problems which perplex our youth. Whoever named high school education as secondary, little realized the unconscious humor or irony, when practically two-thirds of what is given under that educational rubric is not only secondary but quite irrelevant to the life of youth in a progressive democracy.

We owe youth an honest statement of how we succeeded and why; how we failed and why. Such statements should include the unsolved problems of economics, politics, and culture. If as Ellen Key affirmed: "The task of youth is to draw the age in advance," then youth must learn to stand where the future becomes present. Good teaching would bring youth right up to the frontier where the new is struggling to be born, where possibility can be converted into actuality. The real strategy of educational guidance is guidance into a better social life; it is guidance into that knowledge and activity which lead to a better quality of daily living.

Guidance into competitive climbing, into non-cooperative individualism, is misguidance in our age. We do a disservice to youth when we encourage Philistinism and the grab-it-all propensity. Youth really detests Philistinism and Pharisaism. Youth hates two-facedness and duplicity and indirection, as the questions reveal. Youth is the time for ethical instruction and for socializing human impulses. Guidance today is often very much of a fraud, for many of those who pretend to give individual guidance do not know enough of the social-economic set-up and technological changes. Moreover, the main social direction should be given by the curriculum and that instrument needs to be reformed. The high school curriculum is archaic. Guidance must take account of the technological changes.

Today it is no longer possible in general for a boy to follow in his father's footsteps with regard to apprenticeship in a single trade or skill. Those footsteps disappear like the wake at the stern of a forward moving ship. Youth should aim to acquire many skills, including artistic skills, skills in democratic discussion

and deportment. Charles Lamb complained that he could not altogether be spontaneous and gay in the company of his school master. That indicates a wrong relation. His schoolmaster was likely an imperious taskmaster. If power is used to assert authority and enforce its dicta instead of releasing spontaneity and imagination in youth, it is obviously anti-democratic.

Many of the states employ teachers for six hundred dollars a school year. Such a low salary selects a personnel that is poorly prepared, transient, indifferent. The larger salaries often go to the hierarchy of superintendents, principals and supervisors who control the school system. Many of them run the schools as a business proposition; instead of liberating their teachers, they enslave them by a system of pitiful increments that will not cover the expenses of attendance at a summer school which is demanded as in-service training. Most of our trouble with the school system is due very largely to this. Let us engage good teachers and pay them well. Neither a school nor a hospital should be run as a business proposition—in the sense that Veblen gave to that phrase.

Business men also exert a selective influence upon the schools. For example, many business men require that their help shall be high school graduates when an eighth grade diploma would do as well for some of the routine jobs. In New York City, some large department store personnel managers boasted a few years ago that only college graduates would wait upon the customers. But they soon learned that a college graduate could not tolerate the utter boredom of a day on the floor telling one woman after another: "Yes, madam, that hat becomes you." Some of the college grads became nuclei of disaffection. A high grade moron can do much of the mechanized routine in modern life. I am personally grateful that there are such minds that can stand up to running an elevator day after day. But, we must attach value to all forms of necessary and useful work. Some school administrators have never faced the fact that somebody must do the dirty, drab, routine work of the world. They falsify the facts of life to youth by telling them "There's always room at the top."

Teachers should feel some responsibility for the progress of the public good. Let some of

them lose their posts for teaching the truth. Then the rest of the teachers, especially as organized in the National Education Association, should provide for the rebels, keep them active in educational work, help to build up an organization into a profession.

In the recent Eddie Cantor essay contest on the topic: "Juvenile Delinquency, Its Cause and Solution," two of the prize winners felt that parents were shirking their responsibility, while the third winner (all three were teenagers) put the blame on the lack of recreational facilities. These opinions coincide with many of the questions which I collected. Parents complain sometimes of the lack of respect and appreciation which their children give. By and large parents get about as much respect as they are entitled to, probably a bit more. Children defer to their elders partly because they are so dependent; they obey parental edicts because that is the only source from which all blessings flow. When we grow up a little further, we (who are not timid toadyists) give deference to age only if age has kept alive, youthful, and informed.

Dr. J. K. Hart in his *Discovery of Intelligence* perceived clearly the central problem in democratic education. He wrote:

The adult generation cannot keep its own private evils, traditions, greed, autocracies, shams, follies, and insincerities, and ask the school, working in the midst of these effective influences, to produce a new generation committed to good, to science, to altruism, to democracy, to honesty, to wisdom, and to sincerity. The democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is a problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the tasks of the age. A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a community can do so.

The latter teen-ages are a period characterized by a struggle for intellectual and moral integrity, a period of great passion, and a period in which youth likes to find its place in the scheme of work and leisure. The Danish Bishop Grundtvig, under the influence of Rousseau, and thinking of the Danish rural situation mainly, decided that the best guidance for

youth between 14 and 19 years of age was a regular apprenticeship either in the shop or on the farm. At the age of 19 and 20 youth begins to ask profound questions. That is the time, Grundtvig held, to get into contact with a People's High School. It is evident from the questions asked by our youth that they are accelerated by two or three years in comparison with the children of Danish peasants in Grundtvig's time. Still, his idea about an apprenticeship, if coupled with part-time instruction, is sound educational guidance also for a large area of American youth. But, the solution of that problem is not a part of this article.

I am of the opinion that youth can be effective in bringing some desirable changes from within the school system itself. As a democratic start, I suggest that the seven million in our high schools demand that at least one Friday forenoon of every month be devoted to a discussion period, an orientation under the head of: "What I'd Like To Know." All the

teachers should be present to answer questions of fact, interpretation and logic. The chairman should be a carefully trained person in the art of democratic discussion, and, he or she should be endowed with an out-breaking, infectious sense of humor. Friday afternoon should be given over to all kinds of cultural activities, such as theatricals, declamation, choral singing, panel discussions, group playing, folk dancing, athletics, etc. Such artistic participation by all will provide an emotional outlet for the sallies of gayety that keep youth buoyant, persisting, and sensitive.

Lest the criticism of schooling be thought severe in some particulars, I shall hasten to state that the school cannot—should not—assume complete responsibility for the upbringing of youth. Only a community that is youthful in mind and knowledge can do that. This is what Joseph Joubert, Regent of the University of Paris in the reign of Napoleon, had in mind when he said: "Address yourself to the young, for they know."

## Revised Historical Viewpoints

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ROBERT JOHN WALKER, IMPERIALIST<sup>1</sup>

The subject of this article is not to be confused with the William Walker of Nicaragua filibustering fame. Robert John Walker, too, was an imperialist, as William E. Dodd called him. Walker scattered his talents in many fields and in many important movements of the ante-1860 days without contributing over much. Born in Pennsylvania, he made good political connections through his marriage into the Dallas family.

In 1826 he went to Mississippi. Here he engaged in law practice and land speculation. At one time—in 1833—along with others, he was accused by Senator Poindexter of Mississippi of frauds in some land sales. After 1849, when he retired from direct activity in politics, he

engaged in business ventures of various types. He bought and sold lands in Mississippi, Louisiana and Wisconsin; he was counsel and part owner of the Almaden quick-silver mine in California; in 1851-1852, when in England he bought iron for, and sold the bonds of, the Illinois Central Railroad. Between 1849 and 1857 his major interest was in the project for a southern route for a railroad to the Pacific. He was a director for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad chartered by New York; in 1857 he was a director of the reorganized Southern Pacific which failed during the panic year.

Aided by William M. Gwin, Walker became a United States Senator from Mississippi in January, 1836. He championed pre-emption and lower prices for public lands. He opposed the protective tariff and abolition. He supported the independent treasury plan. In 1841 he was re-elected to the Senate. As a Senator,

<sup>1</sup>H. Donaldson Jordan, "A Politician of Expansion: Robert J. Walker," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX (December, 1932), 362-381.

he was an ardent advocate of expansion and Manifest Destiny, urging the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of other lands. On January 11, 1837, the Senate adopted his resolution for the recognition of Texan independence. One of his arguments for this was that it would help toward the ultimate extinction of slavery, a plea omitted from his letter, published in the South in 1844, urging annexation.

In the 1844 campaign Walker played a major role in securing the Democratic nomination for James K. Polk. Walker also endeavored to secure the Vice-Presidential nomination for Silas Wright, but on his refusal to run, he aided his relative by marriage, G. M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, in obtaining it. Walker became Secretary of the Treasury when Polk was elected. He was chiefly responsible for the low tariff law of 1846, known as the "Walker Tariff." He introduced a warehouse system for the handling of imports. He was also largely responsible for the creation of the Department of Interior in 1849, drawing up the bill for it. At the close of the Mexican War he favored the annexation of Mexico, Yucatan, and the purchase of Cuba from Spain for \$100,000,000.

Walker was accused of improper conduct in passing through the Treasury a claim of Gwin's in connection with the Chickasaw Agency and of allowing war funds destined for the South to remain too long in the hands of private bankers. Walker was not "regular" in regard to party patronage as he kept in office valuable men who were Whigs and often filled offices with men personally attached to him rather than good party men. This irregularity, plus his abandonment of the outright defense of slavery, cost him political preferment.

When he quit office in 1849 he did not re-enter Mississippi politics. He remained in Washington mainly to practice law, but he also dabbled in politics on the side. He became a supporter of Buchanan and worked for his nomination. In 1857, to please the latter, he became the Governor of Kansas, acting as a trouble-shooter in that distressed territory. His impartiality and desire to see the people of Kansas settle the slavery question according to their desires lowered his political prestige in the South. He opposed the Lecompton Constitution and eventually became a follower of

Stephen A. Douglas. During the war he was a Union financial agent in England and played an important part in discrediting the Confederacy and the sale of its bonds. In his later years, as "counsel" for the Russian Minister and for Secretary of State Seward, he helped negotiate the purchase of Alaska.

His career touched on many prominent movements of his day, but he did not contribute much of outstanding importance. His career was handicapped by lack of concentration on a few major objectives and by poor health.

#### CONCORD, 1775<sup>2</sup>

Some conjectures as to the reasons for the expedition against Concord and Lexington in 1775 are now set at rest by revelations of a "secret" letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to General Gage, dated January 27, 1775.

In this year many problems faced Gage. As Governor of Massachusetts and Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in America, he had the responsibility of enforcing the Intolerable Acts and of upholding British authority in Massachusetts. In September, 1774, the Patriots had begun to establish a quasi-government and had started drilling; Gage had fortified Boston. Gage hoped for a peaceful solution instead of conflict, especially since he had married an American woman. Through spies, he knew of the military supplies accumulated at Concord. However, he took no action prior to April, 1775, to seize them or to arrest the Provincial leaders. He was waiting official instructions from England.

As early as April 5, 1775, Gage arranged with the British naval authorities in Boston for the preparation of boats to carry troops across the bay for the march to Concord. On April 7th Dr. Warren sent Paul Revere to Concord to warn the Provincial Congress that British troops probably would march there soon. On that day all the leaders in Boston except Warren left Boston, having been warned by an agent who arrived by ship from England that day. Gage was not officially informed of the British government's intentions until the 14th when DeLancy, a cousin of Mrs. Gage, reached Boston on the ship *Nautilus* with a

<sup>2</sup> John Richard Alden, "Why the March to Concord?" *American Historical Review*, XLIX (April, 1944), 446-454.

copy of the official instructions, the secret letter from Dartmouth. This January 27th letter of the latter instructed Gage to suppress the patriots' rebellion by force and advised him that reinforcements were on the way. Dartmouth expressed dissatisfaction over Gage's inactivity and declared that the members of the Provincial Congress should be arrested. He instructed Gage to use force to prevent seizure by patriots of those ships bringing in goods despite the non-importation agreements. Gage also on April 14th received a letter from Dartmouth of February 22nd repeating that the instructions of January 27th were to be executed.

One of Gage's spies reported that Revere on April 7th had warned the patriots at Concord of Gage's preparation of boats for a crossing of the bay. On April 14th American ob-

servers noted that Gage was preparing certain troops for other duties as they had been relieved of routine ones. Gage's instructions to Lt. Col. Smith, in charge of the Concord expedition, were to capture the supplies there. No mention was made of arresting the patriot leaders and American observers at that place reported that no special effort was made to do so.

Thus Dartmouth's secret letter to Gage of January 27th was the spark that kindled the war. However, while Gage had waited for official instructions, such as this letter, Alden does not explain why Gage had begun preparations on April 5th. Possibly Gage also had unofficial news of these instructions as Alden mentions that William Knox on March 22nd had read a copy of the secret letter to Thomas Hutchinson.

## Alaska's Role in the Postwar World

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No territory of the United States is destined to play as important a part in the postwar world as is Alaska.

Early in the recent conflict it became apparent that our northernmost possession was increasingly vulnerable to attack from Japan. Simultaneously, it became increasingly apparent that it was valuable to our nation both defensively and offensively.

What General Mitchell termed "the Achilles heel of American defense" is, at the same time according to Major Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson—"the most potent offensive dagger that we possess, aimed at the heart of Japan."

The shortest route between the United States and Nippon is by way of the Aleutians. But we did not actually realize how near Alaska is to the Empire of the Rising Sun until the Japanese landed on Attu, Agattu and Kiska during the summer of 1942. From Attu, at the tip of the Aleutians, it is scarcely more than 700 miles to the closest Japanese base in the Kurile Islands. Tokyo is less than 2,500 miles from our naval base at Dutch Harbor.

Had Japan been able to establish herself on the Alaskan mainland she would have been but 750 miles from Seattle—less than four hours by air. She would have been in a position to dominate the entire north Pacific region, and would probably have extended her air bases south through Canada and from them bombed San Francisco and Los Angeles, the great industrial centers of our Middle West and even the distant Eastern seaboard. Furthermore, she would have driven a wedge between the United States and Russia and thereby prevented the ferrying of lendlease bombers to our Soviet ally by way of the direct northern route.

As long as the Japanese remained in the Aleutians they threatened our national security. Week after week we poured men and supplies into the Territory, transforming it into a mighty fortress lest history record our Alaskan preparations as "too little and too late." We constructed a network of emergency landing fields, we built army bases at Anchorage,

age and Fairbanks, and naval air bases at Sitka, Kodiak and Dutch Harbor.

By the opening of the year 1942, Congress had appropriated \$150,000,000 for the fortification of Alaska and the adjacent islands. The full extent of the fortifications was, of necessity, a military secret.

The Alaskan Highway, extending from Dawson Creek, British Columbia, to Fairbanks was constructed as a military project. Its completion was feverishly pushed, as a land link was deemed absolutely necessary for winning the war.

Not since the days of the gold rush during the 1890's did America's last frontier receive such widespread attention both official and unofficial. We were determined to hold Alaska against all odds in order to protect continental United States. We were determined that our nation rather than Japan should enjoy its advantages, offensively as well as defensively, for in the words of Governor Gruening, Alaska possesses "the greatest potential possibilities for launching an offensive of any land under the American flag."

During the spring of 1944, Marshall C. Hoppin, Regional Director of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, said that his agency had spent many millions of dollars in the Territory since 1939, when it entered Alaska with only one million on hand. The CAA developed or built 8,106 miles of federal airways. Most of these installations were made for a two-fold objective. First and foremost, the aim was to serve the purposes of war in offensive action against the Japanese. Secondly, the long-range plan was to make the Territory the great highroad of commerce to the Orient and the South Pacific.

Now that the war is over and travel restrictions are being lifted, thousands of eager people from the United States will want to journey to Alaska. Automobile travel, even though gasoline be plentiful, will necessarily be limited to relatively short distances because of the age of cars. Automobile experts tell us that new cars in any considerable volume cannot possibly be ready for at least two years after the fighting ceased. Furthermore, if one is fortunate enough to have a new car, he will soon discover the Alaskan highway will not be ready for tourist travel for a decade or more, if at all.

Shipping reconversion will take some time. It will be a matter of months, if not years, before sufficient steamer service will be available for civilian pleasure travelers.

But big transports will be commonplace. And Alaska will occupy a position of first importance in the international air picture. In the postwar world the most apparent and the most dynamic change will undoubtedly take place in the air.

Alaska is a valuable prize not merely because of its strategic significance but also because of its great wealth of natural resources, especially its minerals and its fish.

Secretary of State William H. Seward, was severely criticized when he purchased this forbidding "White Land" from Russia in 1867 for \$7,200,000. Yet, he was convinced that it was the greatest act of his life, although he fully realized it would take the people a generation to find it out. It has taken longer; and, in addition, it has taken a great global conflict. But now in the postwar era Alaska will come into its own. The Territory will be appreciated and enjoyed for its peace-time beauty and intrinsic worth as well as for its potential position in war.

Already it has paid its purchase price many times over. Since the year 1880, the value of fish caught and canned in Alaska has exceeded the billion dollar mark. The waters of the Territory furnish 175 varieties of edible fish. The salmon catches are the largest in the world, and constitute Alaska's principal source of wealth. The value of the salmon pack amounts to from forty to fifty million dollars each year.

The potential mineral wealth of the region is beyond present calculation. In future years it will become known only with intensive search facilitated by much needed improvements in transportation. But already the Territory has produced a wealth in gold alone in excess of half a billion dollars. Its copper mines are the largest and richest in the world. In the belt of the government railroad are vast deposits of coal both bituminous and anthracite. Iron, silver, lead, tin, antimony, platinum, tungsten, graphite, cinnabar, molybdenum, marble and gypsum are some of Alaska's varied mineral resources.

During the war gold mining was largely discontinued, while the mining of strategic miner-

als held first place. But now that the conflict is over, gold mining will undoubtedly be resumed on a large scale.

Oil is known to exist on the Arctic slope in northern Alaska, and to a lesser extent in the area southeast of Prince William Sound. The oil deposits of the Territory await future development.

Alaska exports several million dollars worth of fur each year. Both the Indians and the Eskimos obtain a considerable portion of their income from the trapping of fur-bearing animals.

Among Alaska's most valuable resources are its forestry and timber. On the southern shores there are three or four million acres of hemlock and spruce. These stands of timber have a potential production of a million tons of newsprint annually—one fourth the total needs of our nation. As yet this wealth is awaiting commercial development. Most of the forest areas of the Territory have been under Federal Administration and supervision since Alaska was acquired by the United States, and early in the present century were set aside in two National Forests—the Chugach National Forest along the shores of Prince William Sound and the eastern portion of the Kenai Peninsula and the Tongass National Forest in southeastern Alaska. In the future, this wealth may prove of great value to the United States.

War activities tremendously increased the market for Alaska's farm products. Although less than 10,000 acres are actually under cultivation, the success of agricultural undertakings has been proved by the farmers in the Matanuska Valley where during the year 1943 were produced dairy and farm products worth more than \$750,000.

The wealth of Alaska's resources is proverbial. The war tremendously stimulated interest in the Territory. How can we best utilize that interest and encourage the growth and development of this northernmost possession? Should Alaska be admitted to statehood? This question has been debated for decades, and, during the present session of Congress, a bill making the necessary provisions has been introduced.

New industries must be developed, and those already in existence must be expanded, con-

verting the wealth of the varied resources to more productive use.

Transportation facilities must be tremendously augmented. The road building program within the Territory should be pushed to completion so that no portion of the land will longer remain inaccessible or remote.

The advisability of constructing a railroad to provide more adequate overland transportation facilities from the United States to the Territory should be carefully investigated. More steamship service is necessary. More competition between steamship lines would result in better service and lower freight rates. Air facilities must be increased.

Anyone who has journeyed even as far as Nome in the summer and experienced the difficulties of the return flight to Fairbanks because of cyclonic storms over the Bering Sea realizes full well the need for road development. Nome is the only Alaskan port frozen in winter. A dog team from Nome to Fairbanks, a distance of 524 miles costs a thousand dollars and takes eleven days. Think what it would mean to the residents of Nome to have road connection with the rest of the Territory. Think what it would mean to the future development of Alaska, to reduction in the cost of living if we constructed a network of highways commensurate with the size of the region. Nothing will do more to promote the development and settlement of Alaska than adequate transportation facilities of all types.

As yet the only efforts to engage in sheep ranching on any considerable scale have been made on a couple of the Aleutian Islands. Improved transportation facilities would encourage such operations. They would tend to stimulate cattle raising and extend the present farming areas as well as open up new ones.

Whatever the future holds, Alaska is certain to be one of the world's most important areas. At the end of the recent conflict, the United States emerged as the strongest, richest nation and as such will be the first to be attacked in case of another war. Then there would be no adequate opportunity to prepare. Thus Alaska must be maintained as an impregnable fortress in order to protect continental United States.

If we are successful in building an era of world peace—and pray God that be—Alaska

will play a leading part in postwar reconstruction. The Matanuska colony in 1935 provided for the resettlement of 200 drought-striken families from the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. The Territory may in like manner prove an antidote to thousands of unemployed families in the future. Unemployment looms as our Number One postwar problem. It is estimated that California alone will have 800,000 unemployed.

With an area one-fifth that of continental

United States, Alaska with proper development could house many times over its present civilian population of 72,000. Her vast and varied resources offer opportunity for many. Perchance the slogan of the future will be—go north, young man, go north!

Whatever program we may adopt, let us see to it that territorial interests rather than the extraction of untold wealth dominate our policies. Let us permit Alaska to come into her own and play her rightful role in the postwar world.

## Postwar Economic Controls

AGNES ODELL

*Columbia, Missouri*

The danger of inflation? No one wants to see any inflation or any kind of "run away" prices but every citizen is concerned with the implications of pent-up demands which have been stemmed for the duration of the war and which are accompanied by greater liquid assets such as government bonds and bank savings than at any previous period in our history. For inflation is inevitably followed by deflation.

What can we do as consumers to prevent this cycle from occurring again? World War I is not too far back in the past for us to recall that the reemployment of demobilized men proved less of a problem at that time than the endeavor to cope with immediate demands for merchandise. There were many shortages of raw materials then as now. Merchants fortunate enough to have stocks of goods on hand which involved the use of these raw materials reaped a temporary harvest. The uncurbed buying caused a sky-rocketing of prices.

Private industry was unable to turn plants and equipment at once into peace-time production. Due to demobilization a large labor force was suddenly thrown on an unprepared labor market. Certain of the war-time controls remained still in effect. The location of new sources of raw materials and the development of synthetic materials both take a certain amount of time and effort. Foreign trade could not be resumed at once. The impoverished peoples could not purchase the needed goods. They were not able to produce goods for im-

mediate exchange. Speculators who had merchandise stored at foreign borders found to their dismay that funds were not available for borrowing and the result was a spoilage of perishable goods which had been bought with hopes of disposal abroad.

We can note already signs of speculation in some lines but we have in our own hands the method of control. Many later difficulties can be avoided by the exercise of foresight and restraint. We managed to get along without many things during the war. Far from feeling any discomfort the self-denial brought then a sense of satisfaction. Unless we want to see the wheels of our factories turn furiously for a while and then slow down we shall have to limit our buying now and encourage others to do so.

By adopting such a "spread the buying" program we shall be doing our part in making the reconversion a period of steady expansion rather than one of peak business followed by the inevitable "slump." We urge upon our government officials a program of public works—a program which can take care of only a few of the people who actually need aid, by the way—in order to cope with slack periods. This is a form of forward-looking planning we may well take to ourselves.

We have the power to stabilize the present situation. We need not be stampeded into unwise or immediate buying. There is no need of hastening to buy for future needs if to-

gether we can make the demand for goods steady but certain. We may even do a bit to stabilize the "Joneses." More important than any "conspicuous consumption" is the assurance of steady work for our neighbors and for ourselves. The normal healthy increase of our country's prosperity is a matter of concern to every citizen for all have a stake in it.

Voluntary rationing of our own purchasing power, therefore, not only affects our own well-being but it brings its reward in another way. Another aftermath of World War I was the hurried borrowing on Liberty Bonds in order to make immediate purchases and also their sacrifice by disposal at below par value. If we

have the foresight to profit by that experience we shall not be tempted to pay any "boom" prices and we shall thus increase the purchasing power of every dollar we *do* spend. By keeping prices at reasonable levels we shall not have to sacrifice our Victory Bonds. We shall be able to hold them for the children's education or for our own future security. We shall grow closer together in spirit through having a stake and sharing in our common cause of making democracy work as we stand back and allow those who have gone longest without things to have the opportunity to buy first. For the most effective democratic controls are not those imposed from without but those which are imposed from within.

## The Dance as Propaganda

DOROTHY V. CUSHING

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As a medium for self-expression, as a tool for entertainment the dance has been known and used through the ages. As a weapon, as a protest, however, it is comparatively new. It has been only lately, in our own twentieth century to be exact, that the world has become more fully aware of the power of the dance as a social and political weapon. Of course, as a means of propagating theories of love and religion, it has been consciously active since the beginning of time. Similarly, the folk dancing of a people has been constantly adapted to exploit national culture.

Elizabeth Burchenal, one of the world's greatest authorities on folk dancing expressed this when she declared that "the folk dancing of a people expresses their spirit and character as no words could, and in such a vivid, human and universally comprehensible way that it has an educational value for the general public."<sup>1</sup>

But the dance as a protest against social conditions, as planned political propaganda, is a new and vital force in the field of art.

As a protest against mechanism, it employs both satire and passion. Ted Shawn, one of the

most famous of modern dancers, used it on one of his tours through the United States, to express his discontent with the mechanistic restrictions of the modern age. His rebellion was echoed by the Swedish Ballet in their dance, "The Skating Rink." Posed against a background of stark, scattered limbs, this ballet embodied all the bitterness and frustration so frequently found in the modern city. Ugly, dissatisfied, couples went around and around, endlessly, wearily—unable to free themselves, not knowing why they should be freed.<sup>2</sup>

When the Jooss European Ballett appeared in Detroit, Russell McLaughlin, dance and drama critic of *The Detroit News*, described it as a "well-trained ensemble moving smoothly through some remarkable choreographic creations, and thereby making an occasional bitter comment on the goings-on which currently afflict this earth." He added, (and his addition showed that the propaganda had not passed unnoticed), that "for a reason not easy to understand such commentaries were absent from Saturday evening's program."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Burchenal, *Folk Dancing as a Popular Recreation* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1923) p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> F. Gilliam, "The Swedish Ballet," *The Freeman*, VII (August, 1923), 566-568.

<sup>3</sup> *The Detroit News*.

The general tone of the article seemed to indicate that these "comments" were more a protest against mechanism than governmental propaganda. And yet, this ballet could have been political propaganda. Of late the dance has been frequently used to express either satisfaction or annoyance with the policies of a state or nation. America, Russia, and Germany have been the foremost exponents of the dance in this new field.

Isadore Duncan, an American, was one of the outstanding figures in this new phase of the dance. In one of her first public performances in Budapest, she appeared with one underlying motive, to praise the Hungarian revolutionists.

She repeated her efforts on a tour through the United States. Her objective this time was to stimulate more tolerance towards the Russian Revolution. She was denounced by the American Legion and other patriots as a "propaganda dancer" but with little result. She continued till the end of her dancing career to express her love, trust and hope in revolutionary movements.

Although an American, her propaganda was not confined to her native land. That which has been unusually favorable. Dancers in America have on the whole attempted to show the European and American people just how great our nation is. According to Ruth Radir, a prominent critic, this is not only permissible, but unavoidable. "The dancers of America," she declares, "look about them on a land that burgeons with a thousand forms. . . . In their work they give us back America."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. McLaughlin reiterated this belief when he described Ted Shawn and his group of dancers as "pioneers in an art form which is peculiarly a field for American men." Shawn's "Saga of America," for instance, details in chronological order: the conquest of Mexico, early pioneer movements, the growth of our country, the war of 1914, the return of the tired, discouraged dancers, and finally peace!<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Shawn, in this dance, blends admiration and censure-admiration for America's past, censure for her mistreatment of the returned soldier.

Miss Radir believes such censure is perfectly

justifiable, for "artists as well as politicians, have the privilege of taking issue on any policy of government, to condemn practices and lampoon weaknesses."<sup>6</sup>

But artists have also the duty of clarifying our thoughts of the American way of life. According to the same critic, Martha Graham does this perfectly. "She is an artist . . . creating a dance form in which to communicate to others her vision of our way of life." Her "American Document" dance in particular, is a "condensation of those diverse feelings and forces that make this the land for which we are willing to die, and to live."<sup>7</sup>

Her repertoire includes such numbers as "Frontier," "Poems of 1917," "American Provincials," and "American Document." The titles are self-revealing.

John Martin, one of the world's foremost critics of the dance, claims that the American dance is never without propaganda, for "it finds its whole being in the presentation of its percept, of man in a new manifestation of his inborn dominion, with as great a power of persuasion as it can possibly summon."<sup>8</sup>

American dancers have done little, relatively, in connection with this war, but this is Russia's particular goal, to use the dance as a propaganda device to help win the war.

F. S. Hurok, one of the men most influential in bringing the Russian ballet to America, declared of it that "what was once Caviar for the Czars is now the spiritual diet of the Russian people."

This intense desire of the Russian people to utilize the dance is characteristic of their fervor in the complete field of art. They want to see all the arts, and the dance is no exception, express those Soviet principles that actuate their every movement. For them, there could be no better use of art.

An American woman, Mrs. Bowen, on a visit to Russia, witnessed a Soviet dance. She described it as follows:

Here was I, a bourgeoisie woman from a hated capitalist country, on my feet and yelling . . . tears streaming down my cheeks. "A couple more acts," said I to Emily (her

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Radir, *The Modern Dance* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1944) p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *The Detroit News*.

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Radir, *The Modern Dance*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> John Martin, *Introduction to the Dance* p. 240.

companion), "and I shan't be a bourgeois. I shall be as red as any of you."

The effect of this ballet, Mrs. Bowen's whole-hearted response to it, was not unanticipated, as her next paragraph shows:

"Those men in the row in front of us," I questioned Emily, "is it possible they were from Moscow, from the government?"

"Comrade Stalin," said Emily softly, "is not a stupid man."<sup>9</sup>

In a *Soviet Art in Wartime Bulletin*, a dance "Fritz and Hans" is described. The dance, a political caricature, is given at the front by the soldiers to keep their morale up. According to the *Bulletin*, the performers, "reveal the emotions of the Nazis under the weight of their misfortunes in such a way that each tap and gesture is full of meaning." It concludes, "there are many such gifted performers in the ranks of the Red Army."<sup>10</sup>

Little has been written about Germany's use of dancing propaganda in this war, but much has been written about her use of it after the last war. In fact, Ruth Pickering, a noted critic, declared that it was the only truly national dance existing in that period.<sup>11</sup>

Mary Wigman, an American, oddly enough, was the leading figure in the new German dance that arose after the last war. Her school placed a heavy emphasis on total, emotional self-expression. Emerging out of the depths of a war-torn nation, it portrayed according to Levinson, the same "unsmiling and unremitting con-

vention" that had characterized them during the war, turning at last into "a kind of combative fanaticism."<sup>12</sup>

It was bitterly, vengefully, aware of its racial originality, shutting itself off from the rest of the world in a sort of bitter pride. The clenched-fist, stamped-foot gesture appeared too often, too meaningfully. The whole foot struck the floor heavily. It was a savage, unrestrained dance. Compare it with the attitude of the German people in this war and your conclusion will probably parallel that of many authorities—that it had a terrific emotional and propagandist effect.

It seems very appropriate, somehow, that it was a racially-mixed group, the Jooss European Ballet, that presented the dance-drama, "The Green Table," a dance that spoke so tellingly and grimly of the folly, injustice and brutality of war. "The eye receives it, and so the emotions respond to it," Russell McLaughlin wrote. "It is a piece of enormously bitter anti-war propaganda."<sup>13</sup>

Whether the use of such propaganda is justified, varies according to critics. Most agree, however, that as in any art, when it is used solely for propaganda, it is necessarily debased. There is a slight conflict as to whether even the incidental use of propaganda in art should be permitted. Most agree, however, that it should.

Despite the lack of agreement on these two points, there are few if any authorities, who deny that the dance can be, and often is, an extremely effective medium for social and political propaganda.

<sup>9</sup> C. D. Bowen, "Ballet With Red Flags" *The Atlantic Monthly*, XVI (April, 1938), 479-487.

<sup>10</sup> Yuiiri Slovinsky, "Fritz and Hans" *Soviet Art in Wartime Bulletin* (Washington, D. C. February, 1943).

<sup>11</sup> Ruth Pickering, "Dancers of Germany" *The Nation*, 128 (April, 1929), 472-473.

<sup>12</sup> A. Levinson, "The Modern Dance in Germany" *Theatre Arts Monthly*, XIII (February, 1929), 143-153.

<sup>13</sup> *The Detroit News*.

## The American Press, a Mirror of the Times

MARJORIE DE YONKER

*Detroit, Michigan*

Whether it is the newsboy on the corner crying out the latest headlines or the morning paper on the breakfast table, or whether we are interested in the news, the opinions of others, entertainment, fashions or comics, we cannot escape the newspaper. The press at the

same time is a good friend and a fearful enemy, an instrument of wisdom and one of folly, both benevolent and critical, agreeable and hard to please. From the first struggling American paper in Boston down to the international news service today, the American newspaper, a mir-

ror of the times, has been influenced by the American way of life.

Freedom, a truly American quality, was one of the greatest contributions America offered the press. Early newspapers were such a combination of truth and falsehood that their publishing was forbidden by both church and government. Later this order was replaced by strict censorship. Even in early America the custom of papers being printed only "by authority" prevailed. It became a common occurrence in the early colonies to have their newspaper editors jailed for printing news which might be interpreted as being contrary to the existing government. Newspapers were even printed without titles and without names to avoid becoming known to the authorities.

But this un-American trait was not to prevail for long. With the coming of the colonies' freedom from England and the adoption of the American Constitution, came freedom of speech and freedom of religion, followed by freedom of the American press.

The Catholic press too, played its part in the advancement of free news broadcast. Father Gabriel Richard who first came to Detroit, Michigan, as pastor of Saint Anne's Catholic Church, was the conductor of the most successful American *spoken* newspaper. To arouse public opinion and awaken interest in public affairs, he appointed a town crier to stand at the doors of his church and tell the public in general, but especially his congregation, all the news that was fit to *speak*. Later to supplement this spoken news, a written paper was posted near the church.

Freedom was not the only progressive step America took in the metamorphosis of her newspapers. Progress in inventions and communications developed new methods of gathering and publishing news.

In its infancy the American press was passive. It stood by and waited for news to happen. Little local news and stale foreign news were published. Then, as early as 1793, Henry Ingraham Blank, "The Father of American Reporting" went about gathering news instead of waiting for it to come to him. He made his "Reporting," went about gathering news instead meeting incoming vessels and taking notes even on his cuffs and hurrying back to his paper to print all items of news value.

Boston, partly because of its importance as a port, became the home of the first active newspaper. It was the first city to collect news by boat. By 1831 New York harbor had its own newspaper boat. On land, riders on horseback became the leading method of newsgathering until 1836, when locomotives began to be used to carry news. The *New York Sun* experimented with the method of using carrier pigeons.

Because of extreme rivalry between newspapers, joint newsgathering efforts were only temporary combinations and local in scope. This performance on the part of the press was but a part of the sharp rivalry of the time. Each paper tried to match or outdo feats of enterprise vaunted by competitors rather than cover day-by-day events. On the editorial side, newsgathering shone through the energy of the individuals who were pioneering. Such enterprise in rivalry did much to develop the "instinct for news."

With trans-Atlantic steam navigation in sight, the *New York Herald* proceeded to establish correspondents in great cities all over the world. Competitors, naturally aroused, did the same. Costs of newspaper publishing rose with such activity. With the coming of the telegraph after 1844, the presses of New York and Boston combined to charter a steamer to carry news to Halifax whence it was to be dispatched to them by telegraph. Twenty years later, Field's Atlantic cable revolutionized all preceding arrangements. This made it possible to receive news soon after its occurrence. Mounting expenses came hand-in-hand with these improvements. To reduce costs and at the same time facilitate telegraphic transmission to participating papers, a committee was formed to negotiate with telegraph companies. With this step came the first mention of the Associated Press. The original Associated Press was simply a mutual agreement for joint newsgathering at common expense by six New York morning dailies. Gradually this expanded to all of the United States and then northward to Canada.

More than communication, improvements and mechanical inventions influenced newspaper publishing. Both politics and war play their roles in the development of the American press. When men in politics became affiliated

with the important newspapers the press took another step forward. Political news was highlighted in the press. It became an organ of political parties. Often these party organs attempted to control politics.

Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, although usually classified as statesmen were also journalists by proxy. Their names were associated with the two best illustrations of the party press as personal agents. Political discussion on both sides became heated, resulting in the first important press battle between two statesmen.

Another statesman, Andrew Jackson, holds an important place in American journalism. Printing presses followed Jackson and his trail blazers. Demands were made for widespread education. Schools sprang up throughout the United States. Education provided more readers for the newspapers. This resulted in a "penny press," and newspapers reached an increasing number of the people. Journalism kept step with the social and economic growth of America.

The Mexican War was the cradle of the feature story. Human interest stories were valued as news. Army papers were found in almost every camp. But the biggest contribution was made to journalism in the war cor-

respondent, a writer who put his heart into the news he wrote. The day of the cold fact writing had passed. News became more human not only in subject matter but in the manner of treatment.

The history of a newspaper during a great war is almost the history of the war itself. Not only can we read in it the military triumphs and disasters but political, social and economic developments of the time. In such a struggle as the Civil War this was more than true. It was in this controversy that the editorial policy of a paper came into existence. Economic and moral issues of the war were played up. The Kansas-Nebraska Act had its effect upon the press. Horace Greeley, a never-to-be forgotten name in journalism, made his appearance during this period with Stephen Douglas the target for the editorial pen. War correspondents came into existence. News censorship occasioned ingenious ways of smuggling news through enemy lines. For example reporters had unsuspicious hollow buttons on their uniforms or false heels on their shoes.

War, peace and politics, economics, social standards and government, the church, the schools and the home, in short the American way of life, was mirrored in American journalism.

## Visual and Other Aids

MAURICE P. HUNT

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For a period of several months the writer has made regular use of a British Information Services' film entitled *Children of the City*. The film is one of the best available on the topic of juvenile delinquency. Nevertheless it suffers from a defect so common that it deserves more than passing comment.

But first a few words about the film. *Children of the City* portrays the experiences of three boys in a Scottish city which lead them to a clash with the law. The environmental background of each youngster is painted briefly but deftly—homes disturbed by unemployment and poverty, barren tenement communities,

children finding their recreation on the streets and back alleys. After the boys are caught in an act of burglary, they are brought before the juvenile court where humane and understanding judges preside. With a steady emphasis on correction rather than punishment, the court prescribes a course of treatment for each boy which appears well suited to his needs. The probation system, the Child Guidance Clinics, and the Approved Schools (similar to our more enlightened reform schools) are all effectively described. The film closes with a plea for community youth programs with club and recreational activities made available for children during out-of-school hours. The pho-

tography, script, and acting are all highly satisfactory.

What, then, is wrong? Note again the pattern of the film: Social evils are pointed out and their effects on children vividly pictured. Then we are told how to take these warped youngsters and straighten them out again. If we are lucky we can retrieve the lives of many of them, provided we devote sufficient time and money to the job. But isn't this recommending the same program of action that would be involved if, in a typhoid epidemic caused by impure water, we should devote all our available resources to providing doctors and hospitals while ignoring the condition of the water?

Our teaching films in the field of the social studies often reflect an attitude toward social problems that is all too common in our society—namely, if something is wrong, patch it up but don't bother to get at underlying causes. Too many films (like many textbooks) deal with symptoms and fail to expose the causative trends and developments underneath or to point up the basic issues. For example, as I write, the country is aroused over the strike of General Motors employees. One of the fundamental issues involved is whether or not an organization like GM is private property in the sense that one's tooth brush is private property or whether it is property so imbued with public interest that its business is everyone's business. Should the GM books be opened to the public, or is the state of GM's finances the concern of no one but the GM management? What implications do the industrial revolution and consequent growth of giant corporate enterprise have for our concept of private property? And again what are the likely economic consequences for the nation of a failure to increase take-home pay significantly over the pre-war level?

Is it likely that any film producer will make a teaching film clearly stating these basic issues?

Teaching films too often promote the same attitudes that have permitted us to bear with preventable social maladies for decades. A film is likely to arouse little reflection among pupils unless it challenges common ways of thinking and doing by cutting to the very heart of our social sore spots.

#### NEWS NOTES

Teachers interested in intercultural education should know that a set of full-color portraits of famous recording artists is being distributed by RCA. The set includes 22 pictures, each about 10 by 12 inches, and costs 50 cents. Write to Dept. 38X, Education Division, RCA Victor Division, Camden, New Jersey.

Teachers who are developing recordings libraries should be on the mailing list of Asch Records, 117 West 46th Street, New York 19. Among the releases of this distributor is a series of three records entitled *Struggle*. This series contains six songs by Woody Guthrie, a contemporary minstrel who interprets American culture from a working man's point of view (mention was given to this series in the November issue of this column). Asch also has a three-record series of American ballads, some of which had their origin in other lands and have remained here in their original form. These are regular phonograph records and can be played on any phonograph. For further information write direct to Asch Records.

Geography teachers can secure free of charge from Air Age Education Research (100 East 42nd Street, New York 17) a leaflet listing free and inexpensive booklets, maps, charts, pictures, periodicals, and globes which this organization has prepared for teachers. Air Age Education Research is an organization sponsored by American Airlines for the purpose of making people conscious of the "air age"—and presumably to stimulate airline travel also.

*The Alaska Highway* is a 16 mm. sound film approximately one reel in length. It is sponsored by the B. F. Goodrich Company and is being distributed by Castle Distributors Corp., Field Building, 135 S. La Salle Street, Chicago 3. It may be borrowed free of charge.

A copy of the new 1945-1946 De Vry catalog entitled *Classroom Teaching Films* has just come to my desk. Write for it; it's free. Address: De Vry Films and Laboratories, 1111 Armitage Avenue, Chicago 4.

Two books which should be read by every social studies teacher are *The Story of the Springfield Plan* by Clarence Chatto and Alice L. Halligan, and *The Springfield Plan: A Photographic Record*, by Alexander Alland and James W. Wise. The first book is published by

Barnes and Noble, Inc., (Fifth Avenue at 18th Street, New York 3) and sells for \$2.75. The second is published by the Viking Press, New York City, and sells for \$2.50. These books tell how the Springfield intercultural education program has created a more democratic climate in that community.

Write to the National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, for a 24-page pamphlet which contains the United Nations' Charter, the Interim Agreement for a Preparatory Commission, and the Four Power Explanation of the Veto in the Security Council. The price is 10 cents a copy, plus 1½ cents postage. Coins or stamps are acceptable.

A new series of 35 mm. slidefilms to be made from Picture Stories appearing in Coronet Magazine has been announced by the Society for Visual Education, Inc., 100 East Ohio Street, Chicago. The new series will include eight slidefilms to be released during the months from October, 1945, through May, 1946. Each film is accompanied by a reprint of the Picture Story in Coronet. The October Picture Story is *The Liberated*, a story of people who have been freed all over the world. The November title is *The Storm*, a documentary study of storms. *The German*, an analytical story of the German character, is the December subject. For prices write to the Society for Visual Education.

Ideal Pictures Corporation, 28-34 East 8th Street, Chicago 5, is now distributing its new 1946 catalog. Teachers may get it free upon request.

Teachers in the West Coast region should ask to be placed on the mailing list of the Shadow Arts Studio, 1036 Chorro Street, San Luis Obispo, California. Their selection is primarily theatricals reduced to 16 mm. size, but also includes some social studies and travel films and Kodachrome slides.

On various occasions mention has been made in this column of the March of Time Forum Edition films. The latest group of eight (Series B) includes these titles: *The New South*, *Russia at War*, *Ireland*, *New Ways in Farming*, *The Nation's Capital*, *Men of Medicine*, *Sweden*, and *China*. Each of these 16 mm. sound films runs from 11 to 18 minutes. They are

edited versions of the regular March of Time theatrical films. Forum Edition films are not for sale, but may be rented from The March of Time, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17. March of Time occasionally releases a film not included in its regular series. One such film is *Americans All*, which tells the story of the Springfield plan. Write to March of Time for rental terms and other information.

*Using the Classroom Film* is a new film for teachers available from Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., Dept. 21-K, 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6. The film describes how a teaching film should be used, taking up such aspects of film utilization as preparation of teacher and pupils, projection, and follow-up study. Write for further information.

Read "Perfecting Projection Procedure for Educational Film Showings" by Robert E. Schreiber in the September, 1945, *Educational Screen*. It contains a number of helpful tips on how to improve projection techniques.

If you are interested in planning or adapting a schoolroom for showing motion pictures and other visual aids, write for a copy of the *Architects' Visual Equipment Handbook* from the Educational Division, Bell and Howell Company, 7100 McCormick Road, Chicago 45. The booklet offers technical advice on seating arrangements, screen size and type, location of equipment, illumination and acoustics, projection booths, and so on. The booklet is free of charge.

*U.S.S.R.—The Land and the People* is the first in a series of slidefilms to be entitled *United Nations Filmstrips*. It was produced by the Public Affairs Film Co. with the cooperation of The National Council for the Social Studies. The script was written by William and Dorothea Cary. Containing 87 frames, the strip sells for \$3.00. The price includes 24 pages of utilization helps. It may be secured from Brandon Films, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

A list of Canadian Government Films available in the United States for purchase or loan may be secured by writing to The National Film Board of Canada, 84 East Randolph Street, Chicago 1.

## News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

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### THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The tempest stirred up by the *New York Times* over the teaching of United States history a few years ago has not yet subsided. Its after-effects have been felt in many institutions, and even in such legislative action as the New Jersey law which requires the teaching of two years of American history in the secondary school. Ever so often a new survey is conducted by someone to determine whether the schools are neglecting our national history.

A recent instance is reported in *Education* for October in an article by McClure Meredith Howland of the New York State Society of Mayflower Descendants. The Society inquired of all the colleges and universities in the state whether American history was a required course; what courses were offered in the field; what textbooks were used; and whether it was to be made compulsory, if not so already.

Replies were received from twenty-six institutions. Although only seven require American history either in college or for entrance, the Society has decided that the over-all picture is reasonably satisfactory, since the subject is required in all New York high schools. It does not believe it should be made compulsory in college, but does recommend that the courses be made more attractive, and that they be raised well above high school standards, with more emphasis on interpretation.

Few historians will quarrel with these suggestions, for it is all too common that college courses in United States history are mere reviews of a high school course, with the addition of a few more facts, and the use of a longer and duller textbook. Many capable students who have had a good course in American history in high school find the college offerings to be largely a waste of time. It is encouraging to discover a patriotic society that advocates the teaching of ideas and relationships in history rather than the accumulation of facts, regardless of the scores which the pupils might make on the *Times* test.

### TOLERANCE

There are few social studies teachers in the land who do not believe that the teaching of tolerant attitudes is a part of their duty. If it were not so, the profession would surely be avoiding one of its greatest responsibilities. Yet there must be many who often feel that it is a hopeless and endless task, not to say a thankless one. Among them is Elvi K. Heikkinen, whose article, "Why I've Abandoned Teaching Tolerance," appeared in *The Clearing House* for October. Her feeling is that under the conditions which exist in so many places, the teaching of tolerance is impracticable and leads to a sense of bewilderment and disillusionment on the part of pupils.

Miss Heikkinen points out that a teacher who emphasizes equal rights in a community where equal rights do not exist, and where public opinion is opposed to them, runs the risk of causing children to lose faith not only in that doctrine but in the whole wisdom of the school. They may come to feel that what they are taught are idealisms contrary to reality, and that it is useless to try to foist them on others. Miss Heikkinen's attitude is a natural one, though perhaps the article was written not so much from a sense of complete defeat as from the hope of gaining helpful comments.

If this is the case, it has served its purpose, for the article is followed by a series of statements from half-a-dozen educators, all urging the continuance of the battle. Their replies are heartening, and it is hoped that they have that effect on the author. There is no purpose in education more vital or more critical than that of bringing about better human relationships through mutual understanding. It cannot be abandoned, no matter how slow the progress, for man's ability to injure those he dislikes has reached too terrible a stage. Tolerance is the only alternative to chaos.

There are so many worth-while periodical contributions to the literature of racial under-

standing that it is impossible to make note of even all the better ones. Some of the best work in intercultural education is being done in New York City, where every race and creed meet in the schools. *High Points*, the excellent little magazine published by the Board of Education for the city's teachers, often contains good articles dealing with the subject. The September issue, for instance, contained articles on the historical and sociological factors affecting the behavior patterns of Negro pupils, written by George Zuckerman and Abraham Ehrenfeld. These gave an excellent picture of the background of the Negro in New York—his family and social life, religious habits, levels of culture, vital statistics, housing problems, and so forth. Such information is of great importance to those who are teaching Negro and white children, and who need to have a clear understanding themselves if they are to promote racial harmony.

#### RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Now that the war is over, one of our greatest foreign problems is that of our future attitude and policy toward Russia. As has frequently been pointed out, the Soviet Union and ourselves remain as the only two great world military powers; hence the question of our mutual relationship is of concern to the whole globe. Yet few Americans have any determined and intelligent opinion on how we should deal with the Russians. There are too many unknown factors which our traditional history, centering on the nations of western Europe, gives us little help in solving. We must acquire the same knowledge of Russia that we have had concerning England and France, so that we may think more clearly.

*Social Action* for October 15 was devoted to the problem of Russian-American relations. Ten questions were posed, and a number of possible answers were given, quoted from the published opinions of various prominent people. This is a good way of summarizing for the average reader the range of expert thought. Although it may not show him what is true, it gives him a better conception of the possible points-of-view than he can get from his own thinking.

#### BUREAUCRACY AT WORK

In the October issue of *Harper's* there was a diverting article by John Fischer called "Let's

Go Back to the Spoils System." The title was obviously chosen for its eye-catching properties. The author admits that there are better ways to solve the problem he complains of, but he is dealing with a subject which is clearly of real concern to him and probably to thousands of other Washington officials. His complaints are directed against the Civil Service Commission, one of the oldest and most sacrosanct of federal agencies.

Mr. Fischer holds that the red tape and inefficiency which characterize the Commission's activities have greatly hampered the administration of government business. He objects to the slowness with which it operates; to the difficulty in getting rid of incompetent help or in getting competent assistants quickly; and to the amount of time and labor needed to cope with the Commission's report forms and investigators. He cites various examples of the baneful effects of having to depend for new technical assistants on an eligibility list long out of date, and of being restricted in choice among the three highest candidates, regardless of their personal qualities.

The author has little good to say of the Commission, which he depicts as made up of tradition-crusted ritualists worshipping the memory of Theodore Roosevelt. He advocates its abolition, and the introduction of a new system whereby each agency would hire its own help on a merit basis, under the general supervision of a Federal Personnel Administrator responsible to the President.

Whether such a change would actually bring enough added efficiency to compensate for the unquestioned abuses that would creep in, is a matter for Congress to determine. Mr. Fischer believes it would, and he presents his case pleasantly. The Commission, however, has not taken the criticisms silently, for in the November *Harper's* there appeared a rebuttal by Arthur S. Flemming, one of the Commissioners. Mr. Flemming's letter ably defended the record of the Civil Service Commission and invited the editors of the magazine to persuade an authority in the field to write an objective appraisal of its progress.

#### COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

Several articles on this problem were referred to last month. Since then President Truman has made a statement favoring uni-

versal training, and although Congress seems disinclined to take any action at present, the question is being discussed more widely than ever. It is greatly complicated, of course, by its close relationship to the problem of what to do about the atomic bomb. The disposition of the latter issue should make easier the decision on military training, for if the atomic bomb should be made the sole property of the World Security Council, certainly national military training will be unnecessary. If on the other hand, each nation must continue to look to its own defenses, the supporters of conscription will have a stronger position.

In the meantime, the arguments continue as to the type of military training which might be required. Albert R. Brinkman, writing in the October issue of *Education*, proposed that it take the form of a four-month intensive course following completion of high school. He suggested that such an arrangement would give the training equivalent to a year's more leisurely service, and would interfere less with a boy's vocational or educational career.

In its November 9 issue, the *United States News* asked the question: "Does future national security require universal military training?" Answers were printed from seven prominent men in various professions. Three favored military training, three opposed it, and one favored it only if it could definitely be shown to be a military necessity. The three proponents were a railroad executive, a naval officer, and an army officer; the others included a college president, a college dean, a rabbi, and an economist.

#### THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

While the text of the Charter is now readily available in a number of forms, and should be read by every citizen, there is still need for a great deal of explanatory material. It is vitally important that everyone be made familiar with the meaning and purposes, together with the limitations, of the world organization, lest misconceptions and ignorance cause a lack of that support which is so desperately needed. The Charter is only as strong as popular desire for it; it has no more means of maintaining itself than had the League of Nations. Therefore, public enlightenment on its nature is a continuing necessity.

The Carnegie Endowment for International

Peace is one of the important agencies that is working strongly to gain public approval of a world organization. Its periodical, *International Conciliation*, frequently contains valuable information and documentary material. The September issue was especially noteworthy, for in addition to printing the text of the Charter, it gave explanatory chapters by the four executive officers of the commissions which drafted the Charter at San Francisco. These commissions each had charge of one portion of the document, and the reports reprinted in *International Conciliation* give an interesting and important commentary on the discussions which ultimately resulted in the finished product. Such explanatory notes, like the report of the Secretary of State to the President on the conference, play somewhat the same role for the United Nations Charter as *The Federalist* did for the United States Constitution. They serve the same vital purpose of educating the public, and should be as widely circulated and read as possible.

It is unfortunate in this connection that *The American Political Science Review* reaches only a limited and scholarly audience, for its issue for October contained several excellent articles on the Charter. Clyde Eagleton, one of the American technical experts at the conference, wrote a summary of the Charter and how it was arrived at. In his conclusion, Mr. Eagleton admitted that the Charter was not all some people had hoped for, but that it goes as far as many others are willing to have it go. Security is not automatic and "it will be the constant duty of American political scientists to educate the American people to their new responsibilities in order that the United Nations may become the effective instrument for peace which the people desire."

A second article in this publication by Francis O. Wilcox discussed the Yalta voting formula and the whole problem of the unanimity principle among the permanent members of the Security Council. He pointed out that the veto principle was a *sine qua non* for acceptance of any charter. He made it clear also that the Security Council and the whole organization is primarily geared to prevent wars between small powers, or acts of aggression by former Axis members, not by any of the five great Allied powers. Any situation

involving one of the latter as a guilty party can only be settled by force, no matter what voting provisions might be in the Charter. Any realistic view of a world organization must recognize this fact. It would still be true even if a world police force were established.

Two other excellent articles in the same periodical were Leland M. Goodrich's on the International Court of Justice, and William T. R. Fox's on the enforcement provisions of the Charter. The four papers together constitute a splendid analysis of the whole document and of the processes by which its terms were reached.

#### THE ATOMIC BOMB

The November issue of *The Rotarian* carried a debate between Sir Norman Angell and Congressman Hatton Sumners of Texas on the question of putting the atomic bomb under the control of the United Nations Security Council. Sir Norman took the affirmative view. He holds that since the powers have established an international organization for the collective prevention of war, it would be a poor start for one or two of the members to withhold for their own use the world's most destructive weapon. He says, however, that the secret of the bomb should not be given to the United Nations until the organization has made some progress, and the members have agreed to a plan of general armament control and limitation of armaments with the necessary inspection agencies. He does not consider it reasonable to single out one weapon, no matter how deadly, for international control, while leaving untouched the nation's ability to produce armies and fleets. Equalizing armaments has proved to be impracticable, therefore international control of all military power is the only sound step.

Mr. Sumners based his opposition on the ground that it would be folly for us to give up a costly and valuable asset to an organization which has not yet proven its authority or its ability to provide security. When the United Nations have shown that they can be trusted to act together in harmony and wisdom, it will be time enough to relinquish the secret which is now best kept in our own hands. It is evident that there was actually little basic difference in the opinions of Congressman Sumners and Sir Norman Angell. Both favor

a waiting policy pending evidence that the United Nations will be a trustworthy custodian of the atomic bomb. This is undoubtedly the view that will eventually prevail, and it is a reasonable one.

Yet it may defeat its own purpose. The prestige and authority of the Security Council, and the power of the world organization to lead the nations, may be greatly weakened by the retention of atomic secrets in a few hands. Powers not sharing the secret may be more inclined to seek it out for themselves than to give whole-hearted support to a world state which lacks the decisive weapon. It may be a case of one or two members of an organization being more powerful than the organization itself and thus contributing to its downfall. By refusing to give up control of the atomic bomb until the United Nations Organization becomes strong enough to be trusted with it, we may keep it from ever acquiring that strength.

Another good article on the subject of world control of the atomic bomb was that of Ellen D. Ellis, professor emeritus of political science at Mount Holyoke. It appeared in *Current History* for October. Professor Ellis believes the bomb represents the perfect solution to the problem of applying international sanctions, but that while the bomb is available to any national state capable of its construction, it will become an ever-increasing menace to society.

#### VETERANS AND CIVILIANS

It is well-known that Americans like to "gripe." It is also well-known that this is especially true of the American soldier. It has ever been said that a commander should distrust a body of men who do not indulge in this practice. One of the best jobs of G. I. "gripping" yet to reach print appeared in the November issue of *Harper's*. It was: "Anything Bothering You, Soldier?" by John Bartlow Martin. Apparently a great deal is bothering Corporal Martin, and he probably has several million supporters, not all of them service men. Corporal Martin's article told the things he is angry about; they are numerous.

He is angry about the tumultuous celebrations when peace was declared; about the same old political and labor leaders with their eyes on their personal power; about the reactionary

conservatives insisting on the rights of property and vested interests. He is angry about the lack of understanding among civilians; about the war workers who made enormous wages and struck for more; about the thousands of chiselers who made a good thing out of the war. He is angry about numerous other things, and all of them are true.

There are thousands—perhaps millions—of selfish, greedy, stupid citizens for whom even one lost American life was too great a sacrifice. And these citizens will go on living and prospering, making a lie of all that the war was fought for. Corporal Martin's diatribe is needed to keep us mindful of these people. Yet there is another side to the picture—one which Corporal Martin and other G. I.'s should consider lest their anger at the home folk embitter them too deeply.

They should remember what the civilian has done. They should remember the almost miraculous accomplishments of the shipyards, the factories, the farms and the professional and white collar people. These things made victory possible, and they could not have been done by a nation of self-seekers, looking only for a way to beat the game. They should remember, along with the high war wages which *some* people got, the billions upon billions of dollars which were *not* spent upon luxuries and pleasure, but made available to the government to carry on the war. They should remember that while civilian hardships were comparatively minor, they fell not upon a picked group of hardy and resilient young men, but upon the whole population—women and children, the aged and the infirm, alike.

If then there was a great upsurge of relief from tension at the news of peace, it is not so remarkable nor so unfeeling. Much of

the relief and the holiday spirit surely came from the realization that the men in service were no longer in mortal danger. It is difficult, too, not to feel that the embittered soldier forgets that there is no real difference of character between the G. I. and the civilian. The first group was drawn at random from the second, and reflects the same virtues and vices. There were racketeers and gougers at home, but the army also had its black market operators, its mail thieves, and its petty "chiselers" of every type. It is not likely the proportion was too different, considering the types of control in each case.

By the same token, the civilian population can show its fair share of heroes, who did their duty and more, gaining little glory by it. The good soldier and the good civilian, except for the accident of age or sex or physique, might well have been in each other's place. We are constantly reminded to be kind and helpful to the veteran, and properly so. Perhaps the veteran should in his turn give some tolerance and understanding to those who stayed at home.

#### HISTORY TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND

The fall meeting of the History Teachers Association of Maryland was held on Friday October 26, 1945 in connection with the annual convention of the Maryland State Teachers' Association.

The president of the association, Mr. Harry Bard, introduced Dr. Cromwell A. Riches, who spoke on the topic, "Making the United Nations Organization Effective." Dr. Cromwell, who served on the staff of the European Advisory Commission in London until August 1945, gave an interesting talk on the United Nations Organization and on our position in international affairs.

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

*Edited by IRA KREIDER*

*Abington High School, Abington, Pennsylvania*

*Out of Carnage.* By Alexander R. Griffin. New York: Howell, Soskin Company, 1945. Pp. 327. \$3.00.

Our armed forces received staggeringly high casualties in many engagements of World War

II. The more favorable side of the picture, and one often not realized by the general public, is that the mortality rate among the wounded was brought down to the almost unbelievable figure of 2.3 per cent. The Surgeon General of the

Army, Major General Kirk, attributes this to three primary factors: "The administration of first aid on the scene of the battle, speedy evacuation of the wounded and the antidote for shock deaths that is whole blood."

But many other aids, both human and inanimate, played their part in the reduction of our death rate. It is of these that Mr. Griffin, author of the very fine book *A Ship to Remember, The Saga of the Hornet*, writes. A listing of the chapters gives an idea of the scope of this volume: The Human Spirit in War; Soul Surgery; Saving the Wounded by Air; Ice Therapy; Treatment of War Burns; Penicillin; Blood Plasma; War on Malaria; Typhus and DDT; Invention and the War; Body Armor; The Rescue of Men; and How to Survive.

In many ways this is an uneven book, indicating, perhaps, that it was hurriedly written. Some chapters are less well organized than others, in some the author seems entangled in a maze of data, a few are so technical as to be almost deadly to the general reader. Yet this is, from the scope and variety of its content, a valuable book. Parts of it make fascinating reading. Incidentally, it is a book in which many high school students will enjoy browsing.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Columbia University

New York City

*The Japanese Nation.* By John F. Embree. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945. Pp. xi, 308. Illustrated. \$2.25.

When the American troops occupied Japan they entered an unknown country. We in the United States know little about the emperor, Japanese group loyalties, the governmental structure, religious beliefs, and culture patterns. Some of our military leaders, telling us that the Japanese military machine is as yet unbeaten, predict another war. Whether they are right or wrong, the American teachers have the task of giving the youth a better understanding of the Japanese.

This book, written by an anthropologist, is primarily a social survey giving attention to government, religion, schools, and social relationships. The author's knowledge of Japanese society is bolstered by three trips to Japan between 1926 and 1936. His aim is to interpret Japanese behavior to give a better

understanding of what might happen in the future.

The historical background of social organization and cultural values begins with the feudal era about 1600 when the shogun became powerful. Although the coming of Perry in 1853 overthrew this regime, the feudal loyalties, the power of the military men, and the suspicion toward Occidentals continued to exist. When after 1868 the old feudal economy was changed rapidly to an industrial state with a centralized government, Japan's dependence on manufacturing and trade brought the country into conflict with the great world powers.

The constitution, the role of the emperor, political parties, local governments, and the influence of the military in government are explained. The social rankings are the imperial family, who "Dwell above the clouds," the nobility, big business families, businessmen and manufacturers, small businessmen and white-collar workers, farmers, and laborers. Japan's public school system provides a high percentage of school attendance and literacy, and an efficient health program. Other chapters are on media of information, the family, religion, and culture patterns.

The objective treatment found here is needed in a time of wartime hatreds and prejudices. High school students will find the material readable and interesting and will think more clearly about Japan after having read the book.

*Our American Neighbors.* Prepared by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. 280. Illustrated. \$3.00.

Contrary to the glowing prospectus on the jacket of the book, one does not get to know the American Republics "almost as intimately as their inhabitants," by reading *Our American Neighbors*, prepared by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. There is some doubt as to whether a reader without a previous knowledge of our neighbors to the south could grasp the scope and the magnitude of the facts that almost seem to be thrown together. Much of the "old world grandeur and new world glory" that the jacket mentions has been sacrificed in the attempt at brevity.

The book is obviously propaganda, but propaganda that stays within the truth by emphasizing the bright side of life in Latin America, and glossing over, or entirely neglecting to mention, the difficulties—some still existent—encountered through the years. It is not a book that the student of history will take to kindly.

The political history of the various nations is hurried through, some attention being paid to the Spanish, Portuguese or French backgrounds, a brief mention of Indian culture, and a statement or two about the struggle for independence in each nation. From reading this book no one could possibly appreciate the real significance of the work of such men as San Martin, Bolivar, Sarmiento, Juarez. No attempt whatsoever is made to give any reason for the political development, and one would never know that many of the nations had passed through many periods of great political turmoil.

The array of economic facts presented is almost more than the mind can grasp. The economic possibilities of the continent are presented in as glowing terms as the Spanish must have represented the mythical "El Dorado." There is an occasional reference to economic disadvantages, such as transportation and climate in some regions, but one is led to believe that they are the merest obstacles to be surmounted at one's pleasure. Nothing is said of the sums lost by default on investments already made in the last fifty years in the countries. One gets the impression the Latin America always has been, and will remain, geared up solely to the United States.

There is an attempt made to touch upon the social and cultural by mentioning the universities and the school systems of a few of the more advanced nations, and the listing of a few authors and artists with their works. Our attention is called to the magnificence of old Spanish and colonial architecture, and the modern in such cities as Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Santiago, and Havana. But of the masses of people and the life they live we learn absolutely nothing. One could never guess that the native who works in Bolivia's fabulous mines is poverty-stricken, or that in Ecuador women of the lowest class are veritable pack-mules. Nowhere would the

reader learn that our neighbors are predominantly Catholic, and that their religious faith has played a great part in the growth of each of the Republics. We do learn that several nations have very advanced social legislation, but there is no inkling as to whether such legislation is enforced. Nor are we given any idea of the effectiveness of the few school systems that are briefly discussed.

In giving the book only a cursory glance, one gets the idea of a very attractive and readable book, but upon careful examination the illusion all but vanishes. The charts and illustrations are the most valuable part of the book, but they are so numerous and scattered so promiscuously through the reading matter that they lose their effectiveness. If one examines the charts and illustrations on a given page, he loses the continuity of the reading because invariably there is no relationship between the two. Because of the arrangement of the illustrations, quite a few of the pages are not numbered, making it difficult for reference work. Many Spanish terms are used repeatedly; some are not explained at all in the text and there is no glossary. Nor is there an index that a book of this sort should have. The type in which the book is printed is very readable, but some sections like the Dominican Republic, Panama, and a part of Mexico are printed in distinctly different type. In some places the arrangement of the page is crowded and the explanation of the chart or illustration has been wholly or partly obliterated. There seems no justification for arranging the nations alphabetically. It would be more logical and much more comprehensive if the nations were taken up in their relationship to each other.

*Our American Neighbors*, because it deals so specifically with World War II and its economic needs and demands, is already obsolete. However, it can be placed on library shelves as a reference for the really fine charts and illustrations prepared by the Pictograph Corporation.

HELEN M. CLARK

Abington Township High School  
Abington, Pennsylvania

*Backgrounds of Conflict: Ideas and Forms in World Politics.* By Kurt London. New

York: The Macmillan Company, 1945.  
Pp. xvi, 487. \$3.75.

The pressure of the war years obscured the philosophies and practices which led to this bloodiest of conflicts. With the cessation of hostilities and the return of the calm that brings with it mature contemplation, this book fills a definite need. As the author states, the purpose of this work is to give "basic ideas dominant in world politics. . . ." To that end he has been successful.

The book is divided into an introduction and five major parts. The introduction carries a full explanation of the problems, plus definitions on all important phases. The major divisions deal with Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, Vichy France, Great Britain and the United States. Select bibliographies follow each section.

While the author is most complete in his study, he appears to evidence, from the standpoint of this reviewer, either a complete lack of knowledge of the Roman Catholic Church or a definite prejudice. In his explanation of Martin Luther's revolt (p.36), he shows a poor grasp of authorities in the field. Discussing the role of the Church in France during the Third Republic, the author merely states that it was one of subdued oppositions (p.348). History tells us that the Catholic Church during this period, in France, suffered a definite persecution as was seen in the expulsion of all religious orders. His attitude toward Pius XI and the Lateran Treaty of 1929 fails to take into account the fact that the Vatican was negotiating as a sovereign state and exchanged diplomatic representatives with Fascist Italy, as did England and the United States (p.153).

A problem facing history students after World War I was the difficulty of having gathered, within the covers of one book, the background of the struggle. Kurt London has completed a work that will meet that demand for World War II. This book is the nucleus of a course in backgrounds and causes of the conflict just ended. Copies should be found on the shelves of all school libraries, both high school and college. If the principles of democracy are to mean anything, the reasons why we fought should be made clear to the students of tomorrow. This volume brings out the

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JAMES J. FLYNN

Fordham University  
New York City

*Yellowstone Scout.* By William Marshall Rush.  
New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 184. \$2.00.

Scout Kean Coward, with his intelligent horse, is the friend of wild life and natural wonders of Yellowstone Park. With his soldier aid he pursues outlaws, gets into gun fights, endures the hazards of a terrible blizzard, finally outwitting the most desperate law-breakers. An interesting story adapted to junior high school readers.

*The Electrical Industry.* By Josephine Perry.  
New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 128. Illustrated. \$1.75.

*The Glass Industry.* By Josephine Perry. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 128. Illustrated. \$1.75.

*The Electrical Industry* and *The Glass Industry* by Josephine Perry are two books which

present industrial frontiers of America for boys and girls of high school age. These studies are not an attempt to paint the vocational aspects of the industries but to introduce students to the very nature of the sources, current activities, and trends.

In the first volume, *The Electrical Industry*, electricity as the tool of modern times is emphasized. After a short survey of early experimentation in control and use, there follows a discussion of the growth of the electric power industry. Covered briefly are machines for creation and control of electrical energy, the use of industrial electricity, the fields of electronics and trends in the field of research. The book is excellently illustrated with photographs from industry.

Glassmaking, from the earliest development, is traced in the second book, *The Glass Industry*. Briefly, the principles of glassmaking, the manufacturing processes from the earliest handmade to the machine production of fiber and flat glass are interestingly presented. The chapters are stimulatingly informative for the student as well as the casual reader. The illustrations are ably captioned and add materially to the enjoyment of the book.

Both books follow the same general pattern—historical approach, experimental development, industrial use, and frontiers of research. In each there is a glossary of technical terms and the illustrations are clear, helpful and well chosen. If the author's purpose has been to sketch these industries to stimulate boys and girls to further reading, these books should be an asset to every school.

ELMER A. LISSFELT

Abington Senior High School  
Abington, Pennsylvania

*American Handbook*. Prepared by the Office of War Information. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. iv, 508. \$3.75.

This was originally prepared for the Office of War Information outposts throughout the world to supplement other material that gives the historical background of our government and explains its peacetime organization. Being a description of the American government in wartime, its greatest value is for immediate use. The thirty-eight headings provide a wide

range of information.

Following an explanation of the three branches of the national government the many agencies—executive, independent, wartime, joint war, and cooperating—are named with a statement of the duties of each. The organization, training, equipment, and achievements of the military forces and of Civilian Defense are enumerated.

Another chapter is on lend-lease statistics. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, documents on foreign policy, and a list of historical highlights are included.

Encyclopedic descriptions of raw materials, conservation, industry, finance, labor, agriculture, transportation, power, and communications give a picture of the economic scene. Medicine, public health, housing, recreation, religion, and education are subjects of our contemporary social order. Literature, journalism, stage and screen, music, radio, and art complete the list of areas covered.

It seems that the book would be particularly useful as a handy reference for classes studying current events and for the preparation of material for school debates and forums.

*America's Role in World Affairs*. By Emil Lengyel. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. xii, 318. Illustrated. \$1.60.

This textbook for high schools is timely. Its theme is that "the historical background of American foreign policy is vitally important to any full understanding of the problems of today or tomorrow." It is a contribution to developing the ideal of a world concept. The book is written in a simple style. An Appendix contains a number of recent documents.

*Square Sails and Spice Islands*. By Laura Long. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 249. \$2.50.

Although the story of the sea-faring Perrys falls into the class of historical fiction, the history teacher will welcome it for use in the American history classes for supplementary reading. What is more, it provides interesting reading for young people.

Twelve-year-old Oliver Hazard, in going to sea carried on the tradition of the family. He went to the Mediterranean to fight the Tripoli pirates. Here, as in all of the incidents in the Perry brothers' biography, the reader is given

considerable historical background. It is so with the fighting on Lake Erie, the colonization of Liberia, naval warfare in the Mexican War, and the expedition to Japan.

To Oliver's disgust, he returns from the Barbary Coast without having seen action. The experience in the building of ships that followed, however, was to stand the colorful and dynamic older brother in good stead when he was sent to Lake Erie to bolster the sagging American war efforts on the Canadian border. In spite of jealousies and lack of coordination in our war offices, Oliver Hazard Perry's marines won a glorious victory on Lake Erie. Malaria contracted in the line of duty on a mission to South America ended the career of one of our most colorful naval officers.

Matthew Calbraith, quiet and more thoughtful than his older brother, made contributions of greater permanence. He saw the future of the steamship at a time when most naval leaders put their trust in the wooden frigate. In the Mexican War he, expert in the use of the steam boat, was compelled to be a subordinate officer to a commander of frigates.

The mission to Japan is given considerable space. The carefully laid plans are enumerated. The attempts to understand the Japanese psychology, American devices to impress the feudal mind, and the response to Perry's advances, are pertinent now when American boys are occupying the island nation.

*The Story of the Springfield Plan.* By Clarence Chatto and Alice L. Halligan. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1945. Pp. 201. \$2.75.

Few experiments in education have received the publicity that has been given the so-called "Springfield Plan," the method by which the Springfield, Massachusetts, schools have sought to wipe out intolerance and discrimination and misunderstanding. No teacher will deny the urgency of these problems, nor the importance of a solution during the crucial years which lie ahead—this book refers to these years as "the Decisive Decade, 1945-1955."

Both authors of this book have been intimately connected with the development of the Springfield Plan. Superintendent Granrud, the guiding genius of the plan, has written the preface, and Professor Clyde Miller of Teachers College, one of the many outside consultants

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Columbia University  
New York City

#### PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

*Edited by R. T. SOLIS-COHEN  
Philadelphia, Pa.*

*Political Parties: An American Way.* By Franklin L. Burdette. New York: National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship and the Public Affairs Committee. 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 1945. Pp. 32. 10 cents.

In this publication, the author discusses the growth of the American two party system, its advantages and disadvantages, and its indispensability to the democratic system. He also indicates the important services it performs.

*Achievements of Civilization.* Prepared under the Auspices of the Committee on Materials of Instruction of the American Council on Education with the Cooperation of the Subcommittee on Political Education of the American Political Science Association. Written by Bertha M. Parker and edited by May Diehl. Washington, D. C.: The American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, N. W. Washington, D. C., Illustrated. (First copyrighted in 1933) 1945. Single copies: 32 page brochures, 10 cents; 64 page brochures, 20 cents. Twenty-five copies or more (any combination), 10 per cent discount; 50 copies or more, 20 per cent dis-

count; 400 copies or more, 25 per cent discount. Special discount on larger quantities.

This series, intended for use in elementary and high schools, emphasizes the indebtedness of present day society to earlier cooperative efforts. This purpose is accomplished by tracing historically the slow growth of writing, numbers, weights and measures, the calendar, telling time, and traffic rules. Bibliographical references are included in each pamphlet.

Written simply and concisely, in a conversational style, these pamphlets are attractively illustrated.

*Number 1. The Story of Writing.* Pp. 64.

Pictographic, ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic writing are described and illustrated in this history of the art of writing.

*Number 2. The Story of Numbers.* Pp. 32.

This booklet discusses the difficulties in using Roman numbers for performing mathematical calculations. It explains that mathematical inventions were necessary before people could count, write numbers, calculate, use decimals, graphs and the signs: equals, plus, minus, times, and divided by.

*Number 3. The Story of Weights and Measures.* Pp. 32.

This pamphlet discusses the importance of our measures, measures of length, surface, volume, weight and capacity.

*Number 4. The Story of Our Calendar.* Pp. 32.

Counting days is probably the oldest way of reckoning time. The week, however, has not played a very important part in the history of the calendar. The construction of a good calendar involves a number of difficulties which various peoples have attempted to overcome. Among them were the Babylonians, the Greeks, the Romans, Julius Caesar and Pope Gregory. Attempts are still being made to improve the calendar.

*Number 5. Telling Time throughout the Centuries.* Pp. 64.

Time has been told by means of sundials of various kinds, water clocks, sand-glasses, time candles, burning knotted ropes, and by clocks, and watches.

*Number 6. Rules of the Road.* Pp. 32.

Illustrations of Pompeian and Genoese streets, Roman roads, a roadway in Tibet, streets in England, Andorra, and Chile indicate



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some of the hazards of traffic and the need for traffic rules. Their necessity is stressed by references to literary incidents dealing with traffic—one in Kipling's "The Vortex" and another in Kelly's "The Trumpeter of Krakow." The pamphlet concludes with a simple exposition of contemporary traffic control in the United States and a plea for obedience by the public to safety laws.

*The Territorial and Occupational Mobility of Washington Youth.* Youth Series, No. 3. By Paul H. Landis. Bulletin No. 449, July, 1944, of the Division of Sociology, State College of Washington, Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, Washington, 1945. Pp. 66. Free.

This study of 16,732 youth outlines the typical patterns of their territorial migration and the patterns of their inter-occupational mobility. Data are also assembled dealing with the education of youth, their employment and earnings.

*Washington High School Graduates in Depression and in War Years.* Youth Series No. 5. By Paul H. Landis. Bulletin No. 463, May, 1945 of the Division of Sociology, State College of Washington, Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman, Washington, 1945. Pp. 19. Free.

This pamphlet presents a graphic summary for the years 1934 through 1944, of the changing sex ratio of Washington high school graduates and of their post-high school educational and vocational activities.

The ratio of boy to girl graduates began to drop during the first year of the war and has continued to drop as the war has progressed. A higher proportion of girls of the 1944 class were in college and in nurses' training than of any previous class studied.

Of the boys a majority entered the armed forces immediately after high school graduation. More boys of the class of 1944 were in school due to the accelerated program.

Fewer girls were in the labor market in 1944 but almost twice as many found work as in the pre-war period.

The difference in the proportion of rural and urban young men who go to college still exists. In comparison with rural youth a much higher proportion of urban youth go to college. The difference between rural and urban girls is not as great as that between boys.

#### CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Germany is Our Problem.* By Henry Morgenthau, Jr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. xiii, 239. \$2.00.

A best seller that presents a plan for the disposition of the German problem.

*The War: Fifth Year.* By Edgar McInnis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. xv, 401. \$2.50.

This is the fifth volume of a series, one for each year of World War II, giving a clear and objective day-by-day history of the war.

*Economics for Our Times.* By Augustus H. Smith and S. Howard Patterson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945. Pp. xii, 534. Illustrated. \$1.88.

A secondary school textbook in economics.

*Directory of the American Political Science Association, 1945.* Edited by Franklin L. Burdette. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1945. Pp. xiii, 235. Cloth bound \$3.00. Paper bound. \$2.00.

A directory with biographical sketches of members.

*Jungle Boy.* By Lysle Carveth. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 103. \$2.00.

A children's book that tells the story of a mountain boy in the Philippines.

*Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century.* By Gladys Bryson. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. ix, 287. \$3.00.

An analysis of the ideas of a group of 18th century Scottish thinkers—David Hume, Adam Smith and others—and their contributions to the foundations of contemporary social sciences.

*Wartime Mission in Spain, 1942-1945.* By Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. vii, 313. \$3.00.

Ambassador Hayes, an eminent historian, gives a personal account of what he knew and saw during his mission in Spain.

*Nationalities and National Minorities.* By Oscar I. Janowsky. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945. Pp. xix, 232. \$2.75.

This monograph presents the thesis that the states of east-central Europe, lacking homogeneity in language and culture, must become multi-national in their structure and decentralized in cultural functions as are Switzerland, South Africa, and Soviet Russia.

# The Social Studies

Volume XXXVII, Number 2

Continuing *The Historical Outlook*

February, 1946

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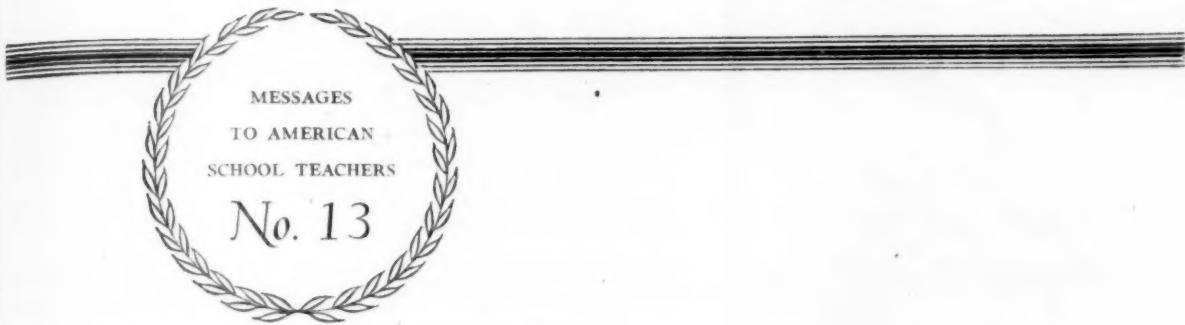
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